

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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VOLUME XVI : NUMBER 1

PART ONE

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Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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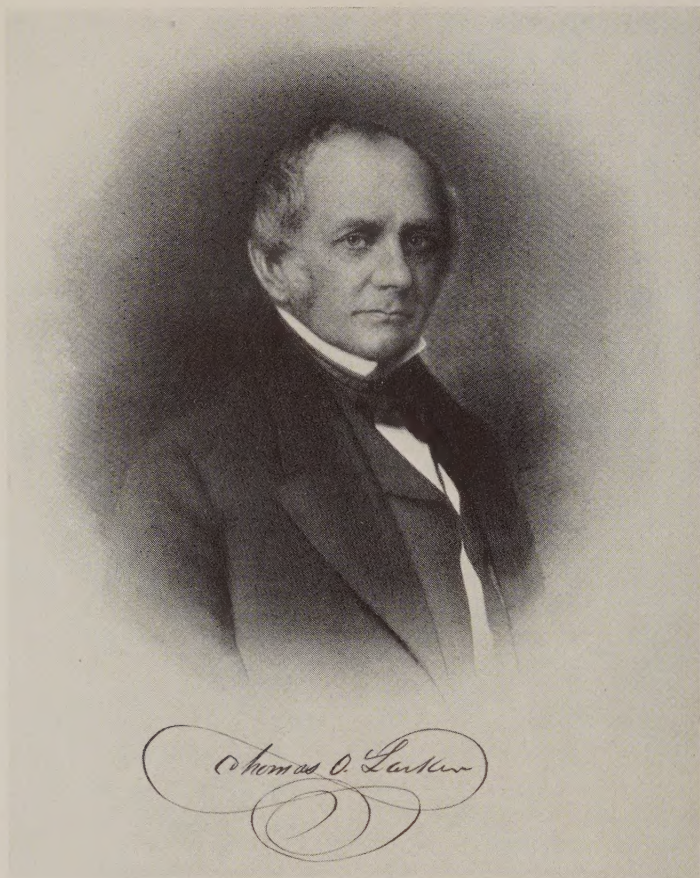
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From a reproduction of a painting in the Consul Larkin House at Monterey
Courtesy of Miss Frances M. Molera

California Historical Society

Quarterly

VOLUME XVI



NUMBER 1

PART ONE

MARCH 1937

A CHAPTER IN THE EARLY LIFE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN

By ROBERT J. PARKER

THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in the vicinity of Boston, on September 16, 1802. His ancestors were people of English extraction who had settled in New England in the Seventeenth Century. On his mother's side, Larkin was a descendant of Richard Warren who had come over on the Mayflower. Edward Larkin, the first, was admitted to Charlestown as a freeman in 1638. Ebenezer Larkin, Thomas' grandfather, participated in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Young Larkin's mother, Mrs. Ann Rogers Cooper, the widow of Thomas Cooper, was born on July 18, 1771, on the island of Alderney, England. She was the daughter of Captain William and Martha Rogers. His father, Thomas Oliver Larkin, for whom the boy was named, was born on July 11, 1769, and died in Charlestown on April 18, 1808.

Few details are known regarding Larkin's early boyhood. The family lived in Charlestown until five years after the father's death, when they moved to Lynn, where Thomas' mother died in 1818. So at the age of sixteen, the young boy was bereaved of both his mother and father.

A year before his mother's death, Larkin left Lynn for Boston to learn the art of making books. He soon became discouraged with this type of work, because he had to bow his head to others. He was a stubborn lad, who could not bear to be subjected to anyone. In 1819, he left his place of employment for another. He found he had "jumped from the pan into the coals." His new

position began to chafe him, too. He seemed to dread getting into a rut. Perhaps his discouragement was due in part to the hard times in the East following the European disturbances and the War of 1812. Many young Americans were being forced to seek their fortunes in newer fields as the "Great Migration" of people westward from 1818 to 1820 so clearly indicates. Apparently young Larkin did not escape this unrest, for, in 1821, he left Boston to spend ten years in business in North Carolina, with the exception of a few months when he came North in the summer of 1824. Bancroft in his *History of California*, Kelsey in *The United States Consulate in California*, and Soulé in *The Annals of San Francisco* all are of the opinion that Larkin left North Carolina for Boston in 1830. New evidence in the form of an original, and hitherto unused manuscript letter written on May 11, 1831, by Larkin from Long Creek, New Hanover County, North Carolina, to E. L. Childs, his stepbrother, of Washington, D. C., proves that Larkin was in North Carolina as late as May of this year and that he did not plan to go North until June. This letter is the property of Mrs. Samuel A. Wood of San Francisco, and has been loaned to the California Historical Society.

Because of poor health and fortune, and on the advice of his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, Larkin decided to go to California upon his return from North Carolina. He sailed from Boston on September 5, 1831, on the *Newcastle* commanded by Captain Stephen Hersey. Sailing by way of the Sandwich Islands, Larkin reached San Francisco early in April of 1832, and Monterey on April 13. At the time of this voyage, he was twenty-nine years of age and stood five feet seven and a half inches tall. He was of dark complexion, with dark eyes and black hair.

On his arrival in Monterey, Larkin began work as a clerk for Captain Cooper, but in 1833, with a capital of \$500, he opened a store of his own. Here he sold general merchandise, produce, and liquors. Later he built the first double-g geared flour mill. He hired foreigners to make shingles and to shape lumber, and began the erection of various buildings by contract. He also built up a lucrative trade with the Sandwich Islands, Mexico, and other California points in lumber, flour, potatoes, soap, beaver, sea-otter skins, and horses.

In 1833, he married Mrs. Rachel Hobson Holmes, the widow of John A. C. Holmes, a sea captain. She was the daughter of Daniel and Eliza Hobson and was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, on April 30, 1807. Mrs. Holmes had come to the Pacific to join her husband, but upon her arrival at Monterey, found that he had gone to Lima. Three months later she learned of his death on shipboard from fever. Mrs. Holmes remained at the home of Captain Cooper waiting for a ship to take her back to the United States. On June 10, 1833, aboard the American bark *Volunteer* at Santa Barbara, young Larkin and Mrs. Holmes were married by John C. Jones, the United States Consul for the Sandwich Islands.

Larkin did not seek Mexican citizenship, but, in 1836, he obtained a *carta* which was renewed from year to year. At first he took no part in politics, but, in 1836, he supported Alvarado's movement. In 1840, he visited Mexico on business. Two years later he apparently supervised the construction of additions to the Monterey Custom-house. The same year he opened a branch store in Santa Cruz under the direction of Josiah Belden, who had come to California in 1841.

Larkin was appointed United States Consul at Monterey on May 1, 1843, assuming office on April 2 of the next year, and serving in this capacity until 1848. From 1846 to 1848, he acted as secret and confidential agent with instructions to create a favorable feeling in California toward the United States, to impress the advantages of a union with that country, to counteract English sympathies, and to keep his government fully informed of the turn of affairs. In 1846, he turned his private business over to Talbot H. Green and concentrated on securing California for the United States. He was the United States Naval agent from 1847 to 1849, and Naval storekeeper from 1847 to 1848. For a brief period, during 1847 and 1848, Larkin served his country technically, although not always actually, in four different official capacities.

He remained a captive of the Californians during most of the Mexican War. Later he became a member of the California Constitutional Convention. He was a highly respected member because, except for the Spaniards, and Abel Stearns of Los Angeles, he had lived in California longer than any other member. By this time Larkin had accumulated a considerable fortune in his mercantile business and had acquired large landed interests. He was the partner of Semple, the founder of Benicia.

From 1850 to 1853, Larkin resided in the East with his family. He visited relatives and purchased valuable property in New York. Then he returned to San Francisco to care for his interests. He died in that city on October 27, 1858, following an attack of typhoid fever.

That Larkin was the first and only United States Consul who served in California and that he played a significant rôle in the separation of California from Mexico are facts generally familiar to those acquainted with California history. Dissertations have been written to evaluate and emphasize Larkin's political achievements. The City of San Francisco has honored him, as it has so many other California pioneers, by naming a street for him. But his career as a business man on the Pacific Coast is a story yet to be written. It has been overshadowed by his activities as a government official. Yet, it was undoubtedly because of his commercial enterprises and *Yankee* ideals that Larkin was equipped to serve his country so successfully. The shrewdness and common sense he displayed in business dealings won the respect of Mexicans and Americans alike. The extensiveness of his mercantile connections gave him a keen insight into Mexican political activities. Probably no other official sent to California as United States Consul could have

discharged his duties with the tact and judgment Larkin manifested. His thorough knowledge of the situation and the influence he wielded through his business relationships were valuable assets. Inherent qualities were undoubtedly responsible for some of Larkin's personal prosperity, but in his early life are to be found the training and experience which made his California undertakings so successful.

His first business venture took place in Wilmington, North Carolina. His observations and experiences there are interestingly related in a sort of diary which he called "My Itinerary." This original manuscript, written by him from 1821 to 1826, is the most authentic source of facts concerning his pre-Californian days. It is a part of the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California. Not only does it paint a picture of the South as Larkin saw it in the 1820's, but it also reveals the character of the man who wrote it. His power of observation, his keenness in sensing business possibilities, his standard of values, and the lessons he learned are all mirrored in its pages. Concerning the composition of the diary, Larkin says, "My Itinerary was partly composed from scraps that I had thrown in my trunk. Wrote some at the desk, some in my chambers, others at different Hotels after riding all day, and others on shipboard. Wishing to get rid of so many loose papers, and yet preserve their contents, I put them all together."

On October 20, 1821, Larkin left Boston for Wilmington, North Carolina, on the schooner *Maria*, commanded by Captain Pibbs. After a voyage of eight days, the vessel reached its destination. This town, the principal seaport of the State, ordinarily had a population of about three thousand, one-half of which was slave. But when Larkin arrived, Wilmington had been practically deserted by white people because of an epidemic of yellow fever.

From the date of his arrival until February, 1822, Larkin apparently spent his time surveying his new surroundings. He probably was low in funds, too, and may have been trying to recoup his finances. He gives no details of his activities during those months, but from his descriptions of the country in which he was living, one gathers that he was engaged in studying the business possibilities of North Carolina and in making a place for himself in the community. His notes are copious, often entertaining, and descriptive of an interesting early North Carolina.

He was especially observant of the products of the State. His notes on turpentine, tar, cotton, and rice indicate that he was learning the ways in which various staples were obtained, the money they brought at market, and the business methods of the people. His criticisms of the inconsistencies of the farmers seem to suggest that he himself would have used better judgment and common sense in business dealings. It took him but a short time to realize the lack of manufactured products in North Carolina. All such materials had to be imported from the North. No doubt it was this discovery

that led him to become a storekeeper in 1822. He was aware that there were profits to be made from articles which the Carolinians needed but did not produce.

He displayed wisdom not only in becoming acquainted with his future customers, but also in learning at first hand their customs and characteristics. While his own *Yankee* training did not always permit his approval of Southern activities and manners, he was not bigoted or intolerant in his appraisals. In some cases he was shocked, and in others he was amused, but always one finds him cognizant of the differences between the customs of the North and South. For a young man in his early twenties such lucid observation was unusual. He attended the social and political gatherings of the community and entered into them freely. Southern weddings were of great interest to him because they were conducted so differently from those of New England. He believed the fondness for dancing played havoc with the looks of the Southern ladies. His descriptions of the diversions of the Southern gentlemen substantiate Margaret Mitchell's statements in *Gone with the Wind*. His criticism of gander pulling, one of the infrequent Southern sports, would appeal to anyone with humanitarian instincts. The energy with which the Southern women campaigned for political candidates seemed incredible to Larkin, and the manner in which the elections were held appealed to him not at all.

He learned to dance the Spanish waltz and he evidenced a normal interest in smoking and drinking, but it is obvious from his picturesque descriptions of those who indulged too frequently that he knew the meaning of the word moderation. He was a youth enjoying the pleasures of early manhood, but in later life he was extremely temperate. He had a natural interest in feminine charms, but it is apparent that his standards were high and that he was not convinced of the desirability of marriage for himself. He was doubtful of his own consistency in this regard, but this was probably mere youthful instability, for with maturity came both marriage and children.

In February, 1822, Larkin secured a place as supercargo on the *Susan* sailing for Bermuda. He advanced a small amount to furnish the ship's stores, and in lieu of payment for this was promised twenty dollars a month and two and one-half per cent. on the sales of the cargo. But Larkin had reckoned without the captain, who was a crook and a drunkard. While under the influence of liquor, Captain Chase frequently snapped his pistols at the mate and threatened the lives of the passengers. He paid his commission merchant in Bermuda extra to make out false papers. In the end, Larkin received neither his twenty dollars a month nor his commission, and lost the small cargo he had on board. It had been his intention to proceed from Bermuda to the Bahamas, but after an absence of six weeks, he returned to North Carolina, richer in experience, but poorer in money.

In June of the same year, he went into business at Moore's Creek with F.

G. Thurston, of Boston, who had come to North Carolina with him. Both young men tried to borrow from their friends enough capital for their business. Larkin's Bermuda experience had cost him what little money he had, and apparently his future partner was also without appreciable funds. One friend, from whom Larkin felt sure he could borrow at least a few dollars, wrote that he "did not believe there was an honest man South of Phil. [Philadelphia] and that he would trust no one South of that place." Finally, however, the two young men succeeded in accumulating sufficient goods to begin their business. The partnership lasted two years, and was then dissolved, with no apparent profit to either man, but with valuable experience to Larkin's credit. He had learned the business of storekeeping first hand. He had received valuable training in dealing with people, and he must have been taught vigorous economy, for during this whole time his finances were low. Yet his persistence and energy did not permit his becoming discouraged. In his writing one almost never encounters actual dejection or self-pity. He was not given to such things, despite the fact that throughout this period he suffered acutely from a physical ailment. Little is known about this trouble, but he doctored for it frequently and it seems to have been one of the causes of his finally going West. It is possible that he suffered from asthma and rheumatism. During June of 1824, he made a business trip to Sampson County, some miles from Wilmington. The journey consumed an entire day of riding. Upon his arrival, Larkin was so exhausted that from Monday to Friday he lay sick in a house occupied by two boys and a black woman. The attention he received from them was scant, indeed: occasional coffee for breakfast, but mostly meals of salt pork. On Saturday he was well enough to return to Wilmington, where he booked passage on a ship bound for New York.

He had been in the South almost three years when he returned to his home for this visit. His comments indicate that he was even more forcibly impressed than before by the difference between the customs of the North and South. A young girl working in a market, white men serving as barbers, both black and white men acting as waiters, all these things made him feel he was living in a different world.

He visited New York and was impressed by its progressive spirit. Traveling up the Hudson, he stopped at Albany, journeyed to Saratoga, Glens Falls, and Lake George. On this trip he came into personal contact with finger-bowls and Dutch names, both of which he has described in what approaches real humor.

After his sojourn in New York State, he returned to his birthplace, where some of his friends and even his relatives had forgotten him. But despite this, his visit was pleasantly filled with parties and rides. He traveled about Massachusetts, making observations which compared most unfavorably with those he had made in New York. His home State was far too conservative

ever to be great. Its legislators were so concerned with trivialities that Larkin prophesied that at some future day, they would walk out of their legislative house and find a branch of the Erie Canal running between them and their Common. The Erie Canal, under construction at this time, was completed in 1825.

While he expressed concern because there was no one in the North who would expect more happiness because of his visit, he evidenced a determination to be self-sufficient, a lesson well learned. He was aware that he must depend upon his own exertions and resources. He realized that thinking of what was before him, rather than of days gone by, would assure his returning to the South a contented man.

In October, Larkin, accompanied by his brother, William, took passage on the brig *Columbia*. The ship was so old that the underwriters hesitated to insure her. Larkin had five thousand dollars worth of goods on board and concluded that if they went to the bottom, he had better go with them. Fortunately the *Columbia* proved a fast and strong sailing vessel. After a passage of ten days, Larkin was once again in Wilmington, North Carolina.

The goods he had brought from the North constituted the initial stock for a new store which he opened in Wilmington in October. His brother, who was still with him, apparently assisted him in this venture. From this time until 1831, when he left North Carolina for good, Larkin was engaged in some kind of business. He even became a land-owner of some magnitude by acquiring a plantation of some two hundred and eighty acres. Except for the failure of his sawmill business, he was fairly successful in his enterprises. While he was exceedingly shrewd and economical, he had a personal pride in his honesty. This is demonstrated by the discomfort and anger he displayed when F. G. Thurston, his former partner, tried to undermine his credit. He was hurt and surprised, because he thought that Thurston was a friend, and because this was one of his first encounters with deliberate falseness. But he was also angry enough to call Thurston a "hypocrite" and a "hyena in men's cloths."

Larkin studied the South carefully and learned easily the commodities needed. He traveled extensively throughout North Carolina and parts of South Carolina, observing other stores and their supplies. On one of these trips he visited Charleston, South Carolina, where he was quick to realize that much of the goods sent there from the North was sold at a sacrifice because the northern merchants had not troubled to discover what articles the South could use. It was this sagacity that contributed so much to Larkin's later success.

By 1825, when he was twenty-three years of age, Larkin had already won a place for himself in the southern county in which he lived. He was appointed Justice of the Peace and Justice of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Duplin County, North Carolina. To his knowledge he

was the only *Yankee* to hold such a post in the State, which in itself was something of a record. The next year he received the commission of postmaster. Though he had had but a moderate education, he ably performed his duties as magistrate. He strove to achieve impartiality and justice, and out of all the trials he ever held only two of his decisions were appealed to a higher court. He was not impressed with the honor of the office of justice, but, even at this early age, he was practical enough to realize the political importance of the post. In these two offices Larkin rapidly learned the use of diplomacy in handling difficult situations. Such training must have been invaluable to him in the activities he was to undertake in California on behalf of the Government of the United States.

Larkin's opinions on slavery manifest acute discernment. He had a firm conviction that one day that institution would disappear from the United States. The non-slave-holding States were not then strong enough to overpower the slave-holding ones, but some day they would be. He opposed the proposal that the United States should try to gain control of the West Indies. New territory would only complicate the situation. He was broad-minded enough to see the shortcomings of both the North and the South, and he believed that if they could achieve closer communication, they would not be so prejudiced against one another. If they would keep cool, their difficulties could be settled. But if they did not, at some future day they would come to blows. In the 1820's Larkin was predicting the civil strife that came to the United States in the 1860's.

In the closing pages of his "Itinerary," Larkin paused to build castles in the air. He wondered why he was not born with a fortune, but since he was not, he refused to lay aside the noble things in his nature to gain wealth. He believed that he must submit to life, because it was fate's decree. He would try to hurt no one, but to do what good he could for all. There seems to be almost a resigned attitude in these comments, but actually they are merely proof that Larkin had learned his lessons well. The South had served as a crucible testing his spirit and character. He had encountered cupidity and reverses, but he was not discouraged. He had suffered from physical pain and from the sorrow caused by the death of his brother, William, but he was not disconsolate. His business training had taught him self-reliance and economy. He had been a successful government official, learning the use of diplomacy and common sense. The groundwork had been well laid for his California undertakings.

MY ITINERARY: U. S. AMERICA

By THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN

With Notes by Robert J. Parker

CONCLUDED to leave Boston October 17th 1821.¹ Sail'd from there on the 20th in the Schr Maria, Capt Pibbs, with seven passingers, all doing business in N. C. One is now drowned one left the state the others yet here. After a pleasant passage of Eight days landed in Wilmington N. C. Here then I found myself before I had time to consider the consequences, in a strange place, a still stranger people. Not an acquaintance in the State excepting my fellow passingers, one of whom left Boston to take fate by the wing, and share the humours and reverses of fortune in company with me. We had started for the south to rise or fall together, and at the South, we now found ourselves, in a town without inhabitants enough to make a funirel. The whites had mostly left the place & by the aid of stages, steam & packet Boats, and that sudden exterminator of mankind the Yellow fever. It bid fair that we must leave too, or have the whole town to ourselves. In the course of a few weeks the sickness had in a great measure subsided, and we could breathe more freely, at least without so much fear of inhaling the inflated and infectious air. It is probable that our having so lately been at sea, and under the influence of that not very comfortable [one word illegible, probably "greavous"] prostration caused our passing the grand ordeal, or we might have gone the way of all flesh, ere we had seen the country, and been accommodated with a sand hill for the future.

Wilmington, North Carolina. Wilmington, North Carolina, is the principal seaport in the State, contains about 3000 inhabitants, one half slaves, situated on the Cape Fear River 80 mls from Fayetteville, 120 from the Capital of the state, and 30 mls from the mouth of the river, which runs nearly two hundred mls above. The soil is one continual bent of sand hills, excepting the swamps, were rice of the first quality is raised in abundance. Corn is raised in some places near the town, but in this County except a small place call'd Rocky point, the land will hardly produce ten bushels of corn to an acre. Even some will work their plantation and only obtain five bushels. The Rice Planters attend to that alone. The country people around depend on Naval stores, staves timber, & Shingles for a living, and merely plant corn enough, to last them untill Christmas, and some have to purchase before that time. There are no manufactures carried on in W. of any con-

1. Commas and periods have been used in place of dashes. Commas that looked like periods have been made periods. Periods that looked like commas have been made commas. In a few cases periods and commas have been eliminated or added to make the meaning clear. Capitalization has been made to conform with the above alterations. There has been no change in the spelling or remaining sentence structure.

sequence. Every article wanted are brought from the North. Situated as W. is, it can never flourish to any great degree. It is not pleastanly situated. There is no fine scenery to ease the eye, or walks to ease the body, after the toil of the day. Over hills of sand, they cannot enjoy the walk or ride in which every Northerner take pleasure in more or less. Here every one must content themselves by the fireside in winter, and the lenght of their piazza for a walk in summer.

Theatre. There are no places of public amusement but a Theatre which hardly deserves the name, that has every winter a small company, where is miserble proforming, and of cause more miserble encouragement. Of late it has been occupied by a Thalian society, who were pretty well attended at the outset, but with the novelty the company left it. Tho some of the Amatures were tolerble good actors, they would have made a better show, could that Southern habit of chewing and spiting been put asside. For, on the stage the proformers could not be prevented from spiting about as they were acting. The company expect to continue every winter and will most likely and as all companys of the kind do, by many of them taking it for a profession, thinking the loud applause they have rec'd were all given in earnest, not thinking that the audience feel bound to applaud, and not to hiss, be the fault ever so great, where the proformers are citizens of the place, and play only for amusemont. Should any of them take [acting] for a profession, they would soon find the public were of quite a different opinion of their proformance. There are no librarys in the place, or any Bookstores; the former had been attempted, but the borrowed were not returned, as they should be and many are now scatter'd about the town, one volume in one house, the others in another. A bookstore has been got up a number of times, and generlly closed in a few months, not have any encouragemt.

The location of W. and the nature of the inhabitants will for years prevent any fine arts being cultivated there. While others towns are striving to out vie one another in fine arts, and giving every encoragement to actin, this town will for ever be kept in the back-ground. The planters are satisfied with what they are use too, are [and] appear to wish for no innovations. If they can increase their stock of slaves, raise their usual crops of rice, and not be too hard push'd by their creditors, for they are allways in debt, they are easy they sigh for nothing more.

Fayetteville. Fayetteville, named after the great hero of France, but an adobted American, is one of the finest towns of this State. It in some measure resembles a Northern City being surrounded by hills, is a very healthy place. When the Northerners have to leave Wilmington in the summer, here they can stay without being in a continual dread of [one word effaced, probably "fevers"] of a malignant kind. Fayette. is well laid out and like all other places in the State, the public buildings are built in the Middle of the streets, were they cross each other. The streets are in general very staight

[straight], but owing to the buildings being in the middle, you can see [but] a short distant ahead, by which means the beauty of the street is lost to the eye. The principal produce brot here is Cotten & Tobacco of which large quantities are brot in every winter. They both are inferior to S. C. Cotten & Vir. tobacco. From F. the produce is ship'd down to Wilmington in Steam Boats, and all their merchantdize is brot up by them. Goods have been landed in this town from these boats in eight days after they were in ship'd in N. Y. for W. The passage from Wilmington up is now six dollars. The distance 140 mls, is run from 20 hours to three days. It has been done in 14 hours, in going down the river. The stage fare between the two places is Eight doll. Altho it is but 80 mls, they take 18 hours to go it. There is but two horses to the stage. The passingers do not everage two pr trip. (every day) The road is most miserable. The contractors are paid \$4000 pr an. for carring the mail, in this stage. High as the fare is, there will hardly be any opposition for many years.

Education. The country people between these two places may be call the most horrid looking set in the U. S. There is but little Education. One forth can not write, and one half can not write more than their names and that would have [been] lost to them, had they not an internal propensity of forever signing Notes today. Judgements on it, in a month, and Execution in a short time afterwards by which practice they [are] allways in Law.

Law. I presume the common people here know more about Law than [than] Seven Eights of the people in N. E., and it would be strange if they did not, for they are never out of it, and one Eight of them, of [are] Justices of the peace, who are liable to be broke for taking a fee on any occation whatever. They must therefor hold their Office more for fame, than profit. I have seen two of them sitting on the bench at a time, that did not know what the docket was and many of them could not write more than their names when they first tack'd Esq to it, which some of them are in the habit of doing in signing Notes letters &c. Their manner of doing business in Law for debt is, to have the defendent brot before one Justice. If he confesses the debt, he gives Judgement against him. If he will not confess, the plaintiff must swear too it, if it is an a/c [account], hence oaths are as plenty as peaches in July. The defendent can stay the execution from 20 days to six months according too the amt. by giving sufficient security. If he does not give security, the justice can issue a Cu. Ja.² in ten days. The Cost for all this is [one word effaced] (50 cts), which is paid too the [one word illegible, possibly "Constable"]. Thus ends Law for any amt. under \$100. Over that sum the debt goes into Court, where many cases of a commercial nature is settled by a jury of countrymen, that know as much about the business laid before them, as they do of Adam's grandfather for which they, and the wit-

2. Court Judgment.

nesses are paid at the rate of one dollar a day in certificate on the Treasurer of the county who takes them in pay for goods in his store, or they trade them to other storekeepers, [who] in their turn trade them to the Treasurer who obtains his pay from the county, when in funds, if that ever happens, & they are of use to the jury in paying their county taxes, and is the only essential use they are to them, for in trading them they hardly obtain their worth. Such things are and will be.

N. C.—Produce. As it was before mentioned their staple articles are Naval Stores, Timber, Staves, Lumber, & Shingles, & in the neighborhood of W. Rice, Cotton & Tobacco, in the back part of the state.

Turpentine is made by cutting a box in a pitch pine tree, about a foot wide & four inches deep. A man's task is to cut 50 a day. Once a week in the warm wheather they chip off the bark directly above the box, of one inch width. The Spirit will drop from that into the box for about a week. It then requires another chiping. At the end of amonth the box is generally full. It holds about a quart. Six thousand trees is call'd a Negro's task, from which he will dip twenty Barrels of Turpentine every four or five weeks, for six months in the year, calculating to dip 100 Bbbs. during the summer, or by frost, when it stops runing. At the end of the season he has chip'd up the tree from one to two feet. That set of trees will last Six or Eight years. By that time the tree has its bark chip'd off over 15 feet. The more it is used the slower the Spirit runs, or losses itself in dropping into the box. After the second year, the slave uses an instrument made like a Shoemaker's rasp, put on the end of a pole. The higher he takes off the bark, the longer the pole must be. At the end of the season, that part of the tree that has lost the bark is cover'd with a thick white crust, which is call'd scrapings, or hard Turpentine which [sells] at half the price the soft bring. The price of Turpentine is very fluctuating. The maker can never calculate on what he will obtain for his produce, as it sells from 1.50-3.25, or has withen the two last years. At the close of the war^a it sold at 5\$. Be the price what it will, the maker is no better off, at the end, as he will not save his money. He can bear adversity, but prosperity overcomes him.

Tar. Tar is likewise made from the pitch pine. After the tree has laid on the ground five or six years the bark, and sap has rotted off, and the heart has become full of pitch. It is then call light wood, tho, it is as heavy as the Iron tree of India. It is then split up in peices one or two feet long very slender, and piled up in a round form, projecting out as it assends. After it is of proper height, according to how many Bbbs. they want to get it is bank'd up with logs and cover'd with earth, then sat fire too. The tar runs down the middle into a spout in the ground, from which it runs into a large hole dug at the edge of the Kiln, from that dip'd into Bbbs and roll'd off.

3. War of 1812.

Sells from 75 cts. to 2\$. Pitch is made by burning the Tar in the hole. Spirit of Turpentine is made by distilling soft Turpentine. Rosin is the remainder of it. Rice is planted in rows in low land, surrounded by dams to keep out the water, which is let in a number of times during the Season.

Cotton. Cotten is planted on high land, in rows. It grows about two feet high. The cotten is contain'd in pods, that are pick'd off the bush, as fast as it opens. If it was left untill the whole was fit for picking, the earliest would blew away, or be full of dead leaves, and trash. Ten acres is considered a Slaves task, from which he can obtain about five bales average 350 lbs. each, which would sell at 32 cts. in 1825. In the fall of 1824 the Cotten Market open'd 9-10 cts. There were many horses kill'd at the South at the rise of 1825, and princely fortunes made. One man in Charleston S. C. was know'd to make \$120,000 by his speculations in this article alone. Many others made over \$50,000. Some had hundreds of bales that cost 10-12 cts., that they sold at 28-32 cts. The profitts made this spring is allmost past believe to those who where not witnesses. Expresses were started in every direction. I know one man that was to receive \$300. to carry an express 120 mls. He sent an Irish driver, who made such hast as to kill two horses, and come in ten hours too late. He came to a ford, where the flat was on the other side, about two mls. off. Instead of crossing it a horse back as he could have done, he waited six hours for the boat to return, by which his employer lost his pay, and Paddy his five dollars. The smallness of *his* pay was his excuse for not risking the river, and he was not much to blame. Cotten bids fair to hold a higher price for some time to come, than it has for the last years. Rice pertook of the rise about 33 pr. ct. and fell soon after. It appears as if nothing that is made at the South could command the same twice in one day. It is low at one time, high another and sometimes when there is no accounting for the rise or fall.

Navigation. Navigation is not much attended to in N. C. They make a great noise about it, but do nothing. The house of assembly granted 20,000\$ in 1822 to clear out the river below Wilmington. A countryman and free Negro took up the contract at \$15,000, and began to clear away obstructions in there own way, by clearing one place and filling up the other. So it now said to be worse than ever. I heard a candidate in his flaming speech to the people, congratulating them on the sum granted, and priding himself on being a chief mover in the affair; at the end said [even] if it did no good, the money was spent in their County, and that would prevent the upper counties from having it, which would be of some use to the county. If that is their object they have gained it, but the money was not spent but thrown away.

A Carolina Muster. At a day appointed we attended a muster 20 mls in the Country. We arrived there at 1 oclock. Thermometer at 90, which is worse than 110 in Boston. The soldiers were all paraded in rather broken

columns. Some of them had come 30 mls. Yet there was not 500 men in the ranks. After fretting themselves and commanded untill three oclock, they form'd in what they calld a hollow square, but I thought it pertook of a compoused of square, circle, & simicircle, to hear the different Candidate's orations.

Electioneering. The one for Congress first began. His opponent fallou'd & the other began again. After they had address'd the people 3 or 4 times the candidates for the house of Commons came forward. Each one spoke in his turn, and I can safely say there was not a dry eye or face to be seen. But it was not the soft persuasive Eloquence of the candidates in labouring to convince their hearers of their own and countrys wrongs, but all this came by the still softer persuasion of a hot Sun ranging as warm 100. He it was, that made the tears come trickling down the faces of our shallow faced troopers. The speakers were in the middle with their hats off, and they felt the moist cheek as well as their hearers. By the time they were all done haranguing the Soldiers, many of them had dropt [one word illegible, probably "down"] on the corn hills, were they were muster'd and had gone quietly to sleap, forgetting all around them. And do doubt thought the speakers were right smart men, who could drink as much as [any] man and then stand. Like the fate of all things, this had an end, & like the fate of many it ended in smoke. The candidates finished there electionerry by treating "up to the eyes" the solders theirs by geting in the mud up [to] the eyes. So if it did not all end peacefully it did joyfully, which is all one. They all broke up by dark, some for home, some for the bushes, some on their own horses, & some on their neighbors.

Two years ago a very respectable gentleman offer'd for Congress. His fortunate opponent was out this year. He did not go to Musters, or country meetings of any kind. He distributed handbills though the district, in which he severely reprobated the practice of treating at Elections. As it was expected he did not get elected. He should have taken quite a different hobby to ride, and untill he does, he will stay at home. While some rode the Navigation horse, some the inspection, others one thing, others another he took up the practice of buying votes by "Steam," which soon put him down. Steam works wonders, this kind among the rest. While one kind carries vessels up our mighty rivers, this carries members to our mighty Congress when we see [one word effaced, probably "the"] quantity of spirits that is yearly become to plenty, than it may lose its affect in this case, not before.

A Southern Wedding. A wedding in this part of the country is conducted on a very different scale from those in N. E. They are much longer, while the courtship is much shorter. A Southerner requires in general as many months as the Northerner does years to affect his choice. He appears to think it a deed that must be done, and the sooner over the better. I will not advocate the course of either, but content myself by discribing it that I may not

forget them. When once concluded on a day at no distant date is named. Within three days of [this] all the Neighbors are invited, rich and poor. The invitation are all given by the bride's family, the groom not having any liberty to ask any persons without leave, which is often given. At many of them, most all young men of respectable families mount their horses and proceed to the place of fun and sport, with or without any invitation and they are always sure of a hearty welcome, and kind treatment, such is the hospitality of the people. Many a young man here will go over twenty miles to attend it, and going a horseback make the charge double to the bride's family, but that is a lesser consideration among them. They begin to collect soon after dinner, and are coming and going for the next 24 hours. About dark business begins to look like a beginning. Eight waiters, so called are nominated, which is often done before hand, Four Ladies, and four Gents. The parties always take a brother & sister each if they have them. The others are chosen indiscriminately from those of their standing in Life, and not often above or below. They then take possession of a room with the couple that is in future to be one, where their different arrangement are made. From this room the waiters march out in pairs, two before, two behind the couple. The Gents have each a knot of white ribbon tied on his coat collar by his partner, before they come forward. Each of them holds in his hand a candle tastefully decorated with paper cut in various forms. Thus in order, they form a circle round the Justice. They are seldom married by ministers, who makes them man & wife with very little ceremony. The happy groom then salutes his bride by the Justice's order. The Justice salutes her by right, and those of the company by might, and where it not that many come as nigh the neck, or forehead, they might were the Ladies' lips out. Thus ends the wedding so far. A supper is then spread, loaded with enough for five times such a company. Amid this vast profusion there's but a little to please the palate. Their cooking is very bad. Their cakes are always too heavy to eat, their preserves too far off to be seen, but for one who has travell'd all day to enjoy the sight, it answers every purpose.

Weddings. The Waiters have all the honor, likewise all the labour of a wedding in this country. There is the task to wait on the couple to be married. That may be the most enviable part of the performance, in fact I have often prefer'd this post, than the groom's. And there is the task to wait at the table at supper, which is by no means the most enviable part of that performance. To stand the calls of the host & his guests, to see all on the table vanish before him like magic, and take what might be left after they are feasted is not so good. Then again the office is not so bad. They must rank Number two for the time. There's the first salute, and the privilege of the first dance is theirs. They are kind of masters of Cerimonies, and grooms of the bed chamber.

After supper is over, the house is clear'd for the Ball, & [one word illegible,

possibly "Bawl," meaning "Brawl"]. Dancing commences and continues untill Breakfast time. Each one gets his partner as often as he can, with any manner of order or system. The most forward is on the floor the most. Those that wait untill there is room for him, may wait untill breakfast. When that is over, they all go to the bridegroom's. It is then his turn to give invitation. Those that attended the wedding are invited to what is called the inferre, where they meet a new party. The second night and sometimes the third is spent in feasting and carousing like the first. When all the men are engaged in dancing there is no disturbance, but when thro religious motives, it is prohibited, woe unto rest, pleasure or satisfaction, and woe unto beds & bedding Chairs and tables. They are then often broke for mere pastime. At a wedding in the country, be it of high or low degree, no one ought to prevent dancing. It is the only amusement that can keep any kind of harmony, otherwise the word is harm-many. It keeps the young men engaged, as there are hardly any of them but enjoy it, and prevents the spirits that they [have drunk] from having its full affect. If that amusement is denied, they have nothing to do.

Amusements. Those simple games played at the North can not be got up here often. Girls of the higher class will never engage in them, and but few of the men. The latter consider them childish and foolish to the extream. Then their only alternative is to drink, and at the end quarrel. No one can sleep. If they tried, others would prevent them. If they were engaged in their faverite amusement, those that choose could retire if they left enough in the room for company. If they could not be spared, they would be often prevented from retiring to rest. To leave the house and go home at night would be out of the question, as they live at a distance, and would have to ride in the woods. Should any of the principal females attemp to go home before the morning, many a young man would have their slaves and horses out of the way. Nor could they obtain company, and it is very seldom that they can persuade their Brothers to go with them.

Southern Ladies. There are but a few Brothers that care for their sisters company. If they did, there would be others, that they care for more, to ride or walk with. A sister is to many in every Country a bore that they are not anxious for. But should it be necessary for them to show their regard when their sister is in danger, they are allways ready. For common occurrences they shew but little willingness to be with them. The fondness for dancing here makes great havoc in their looks; to see a handsome female over 23 or 24 is very rare, or to see one two years after marriage. Those in the country care but a little for dress before or after marriage, excepting when going to a party. Even then many looks if their dresses rain'd on them or they belong to another person, so misirbley are the made and put on. If beauty is but skin deap in a Northern Climate, it must be rather shallow in a Southern one. They see but little company at home therefor think it of no

use to be always drest, and their mothers object to their lacing themselves. On that account they often appear aukward with fine cloaths, and not much at ease. They are at all times very reserved. For a young Lady to walk or ride alone is unknown with a young man. When visit'd by him the whole family are all together. He might follow in her train his lifetime, and never be alone with her one hour. In going to meetings or parties, which they attend at a great distance, the common practice is for them to ride behind him but always with other company. Should he ride behind the company she will urge him forward, if he goes too fast, call for the others to overtake them. For a young Lady here to ride a whole day, or take an Evening's walk with a young man, would be but know, to ruin her character. For them to order him in any trifling affair, to ask a favor of him, or to propose any amusements to young men I seldom ever knew. In company they are silent, or are talking among themselves. At the end of their dance, each sex branch off to different sides of the house, the females to chat on the different dancer's characters, and of their own dancing, the men to take the glass again. Tho, they will not roast a man, as an English writer says they will in the Western States for refusing to drink, they will worry him untill he consents, and in time he worries others in his turn.

There are but a few Northerners marry in the Southern states, when we take into view the thousands that every year come out here. Some few marry in the Cities, less in the country. The former are never much better off in their circumstances, the latter always become worse. I never knew a Yankee that took a wife here, and settled in the contry, but what became riduced in his business by it. They can not prosper. The climate breaks their Constitutions. They become indolent and careless than even more the Natives are, and at the end they become downright Carolinians.

Southern Men. The men that are born and *raised* here are mostly low bred, brought up without any care, without Education, & without fear. There are many men in the towns, who received a liberal education and are men of talants, but those in the country, with a very exceptions, are a miserable disapated lot. In one Neighborhood were I know every man & boy, for ten mils around, I hasard nothing in saying that there [are] not have as many men, that I have not seen drunk, and many of them make no shame or secret of it. I know two men in this Neighborhood who were often so for three days together, and in that time eat nothing, or call'd for any thing but Rum, Rum. One of them I saw eat some Eggs that had been rotten many weeks. Some boys had found them in the bushes and give him, which he quickly swallow'd. He afterward laid himself against a Turpintine tree, which held him fast by the shirt, (he had no coat or vest on). When he came too, he had to creep out of his shirt and tear it away by peices. If ever a God took care of his votaries, it is the God of drunkards. I think I have seen as much of it in one year, as ever was seen in the same lenght of time, and I

never saw a drunkard hurt himself while under the influence of liquor. They fight as long as they can stand even with a sober man. If he beats them with a club, they do not fear it, and many are put on swift horses when they were senseless and are never hurt. Let the horse go as he will, they hold on.

Southern Boys. Like Father, like son, is an old say. Here it shines in full truth. The boys are taught to drink before they can walk. I have frequently seen Fathers wake their Child of a year old from a sound sleep to make it drink Rum, or Brandy. He seems if the liquor was of no use to him without his child drank with him. No one can wonder after seeng this, that the men are professed drinkers, if they begin this early. But bad as the men are in this respect, there are but few females that will drink any kind of Spirits. A man here must have company when he drinks, but he does not want theirs. By that means they are free from the habit.

Mixt Company. The boys when left to themselves are in every respect different from those at the North. They seldom have any disposition to play, and like older ones, drinking riding races, & hunting are their amusements when by themselves, when in company, dancing. If not higher than the fiddle they join with those 30 years old, or seven feet high, for I never saw a company here but what there was

"Blue Spirits and grey,
Black Spirits and white."

Old & young higgely piggely, will mix together. The young can not meet at any party, (unless it is a Subscription Ball, & then all the host's old aunts will [be] there under the pretence of helping his wife) but there was a few score of old hags that look'd as if they had been dead, and kiln burnt ten years before, smoking their confounded dutch pipes with its detestable tobacco in every body faces, with one breath giving a hint and surmise of what is to be, and in the next giving their infernal inuedoes of what has been. In their company also follows as the rear gaurd, married women, with one or two children in their arms, and three or four at their sides, forever in the way of the dance and forever crying from cuffs & kicks they receive from some of those dancing. I have often made the women turn up their eyes, in telling them of the children been kept out of the way, and scat out to nurse, when small, in the N. E. states. They always say their parents must be cruel, to keep their children out of sight, and I in return always thought if the little shallow fac'd, dirt eating brats there present were, were they ought to be, they would not be there. But carry them to Church or frolicks they always will if they have to ride five on a horse which I have sometimes seen. I have rec'd polite invitations to carry such home, but was always prevented by my horse being suddenly taken sick, lame, or too high spirited by the corn he eat during the night. By the way, the latter would be a wonder, for they often ride them all day, tie them to a tree all night without food, and to finish, carry a girl behind them ten or fifteen mls. next day. So that no one

would be surpris'd that the horse could not eat, when he had a chance after all this.

Like themselves their horses can or must live upon air when pleasure is the object of the riders, and go like the wind, carrying single or double.

Election. In the month of August, the Election for all candidates chosen by the people, is held. There are certain places all over the County, named by the Legislature, for holding them, and wheather there should afterwards be house or no house, it must be held on that spot, and not a rod from it. At the one I attended the poll holders had no other place but an old store house, about eight feet square, with a half a roof and that more holely than ragged, with now and then a board tore of the side to let in the air. I presume, they and the candidates alone would fill it, but there the votes must be rec'd, and declar'd for that district. At least the wheather was as warm as one might expect at the South in this month. By noon the place was surrounded by men, women & Boys, a rather a promiscuous, and motley lot of constituents for any man to represent. But they were qualified for voters, and the Candidates for treating them, for Rum carried the day with many, tho many there are, that do their best to prevent treating. The Candidates are adverse too it, for two fold reasons. They think it wrong, and know it hurts their purse. The women who attended were I presume aware that they could not vote for the Candidates, but could speak for them, and did most vehemently, and not only spoke, but wept and loudly too. So far did they carry their patriotism for the good of their country that they wept, I can not say.

A Battle. I have often heard of Ladies puling caps for Gentlemen, but seldom of their puling hair. By some unaccountable thing or other, far be it from me to enquire into their secret concave [probably "conclave"], during the Evening of the Election, our fair champions came to something in the form of a pitch'd battle so call'd, I take it, from the pitching way of fighting that it requires. Their loving Lords had set them an example in the middle of the day, as they saw them engaged in mortal combat in great danger of losing an eye, or nose, or tooth. They at the onset endeavour'd to part them. Their interfering brot others on the carpit, when, the most hair the best woman appear'd to be the order of the day. After considerable scratching and hawling, and great loss of their beautifull tresses, there was a cessation of hostilities, but not by mutual consent, but for want of strenght to continue it any longer. They then began to enquire the cause of the battle & from what it originated from. For we always like to have a why, and wherefore for our actions. After a general talk on the affair, ever and anon a hard word put in from the fair combatants, to give the conversation force, and prevent it from becoming stale and insipid, they came to the general agreement to disagree, and again for a scientifick set to, they prepar'd. It was happily settled before any more blood was spilt, or hair was lost. Had a rag merchant came along at that time he would have made a small fortune, for the place was cover'd with them.

Candidates. At the close of the day the votes were counted and the fortunate Candidates declared. The people began to disperse. Some of them had a dance at night, some went home, while others could go no farther than [than] the place they were then on, and took the bushes for their pillow, and the sky for their *moschitto* net, took a small set to next morning, by the way of settling themselves, and went home thinking they had done their duty to themselves and their country. The best man was elected and they are satisfied, or they thought it was so, which is as well. Thus ended an Elections for a choos of Officers, which was a disgrace to the people, to the candidates and the country. If all the candidates would engage not to treat at them, it would be done away. The Legislature should pass an act that spirits should not be sold on the ground, as they have respecting selling it at meetings on Sunday. Two [one word effaced, probably "men"] were run, and voted for at this Election, who could not write their names. One of them was a day labourer. He was started by some people partly out of sport, and partly for motives best known to themselves. He was the most miserble looking being, I ever laid my eyes on, about five ft. 10 inches high, and did not weigh more than 70 lbs, with a face like the edge of a rough shingle, his hair like a mop, and beard like a hog's back. He cut an odd Figure. The [other] started himself. Neither was elected. The latter promised to whip several persons for drinking his spirits, & then not voting for him.

A Gander Pulling. Of all the sports, or games practised in the Southern country, gander puling is the most disgracefull, and happily for the people it is of very rare occurance. The only one that had been where this one was, was many years back. Many of the natives had never seen it done. I happen'd to be at this. The English writers find much fault with the custom, and well they may, but not because they have no amusement more cruel. Many people deny the business altogether in this country. How often it is done, I know not, but that this was done, I do know. It was first publicly advertised at public places around, as all advertisements are posted in the Country. The sport was to be the same [place] were the Election was held. The house that then served to receive the votes, now served to receive subscriptions for pulling the Gander's head. Each person was to pay 50 cents. It then answer'd the purpose of selling rye whiskey and apple jack, at 40 cts a quart. Six months credit, six months indulgence, and nine months Law are the usual terms. After the Apple jack had its effects sufficiently, there were plenty ready for the gander's head. He was then made fast to a swinging branch of a tree by his legs, with head and wings fluttering below. The rules of the game are. Every person takes his station on the road, some distance from the tree a horseback, one behind the other. The first starts his horse in a full canter or loop. As he approaches the gander he rises from his horse, to take the him by the head. If he can bring it off the money subscribed is his. The Gander's head is well tallow'd. That causes it to slip thro his fingers. The only way

they can bring if off is by a sudden jerk. The other horsemen ride after him, as fast as they can go, ride thro, and return to their places again. If they slacken their horses as they approach, there are people station'd ready to whip them forward. I was on a young high mettled horse at the time. I lent him to a man to ride, but he came to the bird he would rise on his hind feet, then with one leap go ten feet the other side. So the rider never was able to make a single pull all the time. The bird hung there about one hour, before he was kill'd, by their jerk his head. After that they had a fairer chance to reach him. Before his flying about made their horses start from the road, and frequently leap thro, to quick for them. At the end of another hour, some brot the head off and the game terminated. The money was then his. But it happen'd that they all pull'd on tick, and the gander's head, and the gander's debts, was all he had to shew for his trouble.

A Store Keeper. The owner took the body. He was [a] shopkeeper likewise, and like many of his compatriots, he neither could read or write, and yet charged all he sold. His wife, sons & daughters were his clerks, but they were no better off than the Father in that respect. He would sell to two or three, and then get some one to set the names down. After that he could keep his own score by tallying tho I thought he sometimes tallied to the wrong person. If the purchaser could write, he permitted him to make his own charge on the book. He only sold by the quart, for which a black mark answer'd every purpose.

Dancing & Gouging. Like all their frolicks this ended with a dance, in a Neighbors house. Girls they had on hand, for there was about fifty of them, and there mothers and grand aunts, & the usual train of children all to see the fun, of which each seem'd to pertake. Some of them when going on the floor, to shake their heavy feet, had to give their babes to those standing by, but all these, and those at the Election were of the lowest class, tho, not all of the poorest. There where a few fights, by way of embelishng the affair, and give an interest to it, for they do not admire Sameness. A few tried to gouge but where prevented. One had a peice of his under lip bit most off. They afterwards sewed it up. I believe the man who did it was his cousin, and member of the baptist church. They would not turn him out, for that or for drinking, for they well knew the mote in their own eyes. The Elder of the church or clerk, or some chief man, a justice of the peace to boot strip'd to whip me for saying a Nephew of his had told a falsehood. They made him put on his coat and carried him home. He afterwards excused himself by saying it was not him that did it but Rum. He now appears a warm friend of mine, and I believe he is, for after one quarrel with them, if they make it up sincerely, they are ever after your best friends.

Remarks on N. Carolina. In pening what I have, on the characters of the Carolinians, I have wrote only what I am personally acquainted with, and what I have actually seen, and in all the statements only refer to people

living in the country, and that, in the lower part of the State. The Carolinians in this part of the State are far below in every qualification those who reside in the upper part. Those in the towns are of course, better educated than they are in the country. The latter are mostly an indolent, careless set of people, and they will never better themselves, untill they are more careful, produnt, and excise more judgement in their affairs than they do at present. To show their want of it, I will relate a few instances of their incoherences. A countryman will take his boat with two Barrels of Turpentine, and go down to Wilmington, perhaps 40 mls from his home, to sell it, to buy corn. He will be two days going to market, one day, and often two, there, and two days home. Some are longer, others take less time, according to their distance. Here then is a man five days, selling two barrels of turpentine, for which he obtain as many dollars, and often less. If his time is worth anything, it must be worth that, putting the trouble of making, and laying Barrels. Those who live at a distance from any river, will roll it in by land. I have frequently [seen] a man with one small ox, saddle and bridled, rolling in one barrel, and be out two or three days before he gets home. Others bring in oysters in the same manner. I know one man to come to market with five Bushels of oysters. He came 35 miles, was two days acoming, sold two bushels on the road to pay his expences. They all got wet by the rain, and spoilt. He sold the remainder on the second day in town, for one gall. of Molasses, then went home. He had no other business to attend, or any other view but sell his load. He was five days doing it, and for his trouble obtain'd equal to 40 cts, which is the common price for one bushel. Those who make a practice of selling bring them about five mls, and one day about it. Generally bring in four or five bushels at a load every other day, which is equal to 90 cts pr day for man & horse. Altho they find it hard to live, they are very hospitable people. They require but once to be in a man's company, to be acquainted with him. Naval Stores is the bane of thousands here. If they would quit that, & cultivate their land, raise their own corn &c, they would be more independent. They then would not have to push off to market as they do now. Yet they call themselves independent. A Southerner with his few Negroes, pride himself on his wealth, and independence more than a N. E. farmer with his thousands of acres of rich lands. Even the vary tavern keepers are a proud set. I have seen them refuse to let a traviller set at table, because he had reported that they did not know how to cook. I once stop'd at a public for dinner. The Landlady said she was not going to put her to any trouble for an extra dinner, but if I choose to wait untill the family dined, I might. As I had no alternative I did so. At another I knew them to reprimand a traveler for calling for something he did [not] eat, after they brot it to him. To permit a Negro to eat even in the house is out of the question. I once saw one send from the kitchen into the [dining room] for a chair to sit in. He was inform'd if he could not sit on the slave's benches, he must stand, or leave the place.

Pronunciation. They pretend to much correctness in speaking, tho, no people are more wide from the mark. They often correct Yankees in their speaking, particular in the following words, wite for white, hadent ought to, for had not ought too, for pronouncing Dance, can't fence, &c. to broad. In those words they are right, but not in sarry crap for sorry crop, mought for might, saft for soft, how de for how do you do, right-smart for very well, yander for yonder, and many other words. Their reckon is becoming quite fashionable at the North. Most all Northerners living hear soon use it. But in spite of their faults, and what nation are free from them, their singularities oddities, & inconsistency, I shall always remember their friendship & kindness. I have spent many a pleasant time with them. I always found a hearty welcome and always made myself at home among them.

Speculations. The Carolineans that reside to in the towns are as much different from those in the country, as if they were 1000 mls apart. Yet there is much difference between them and those who are brought up in Cities at the North. As to the merits or demerits of each it is not my object to shew, for it would be useless, as each party know the other well enough. They are here fond of show in their buildings, but do not go to such expence as the Yankees, for very few can afford it. Their property is all in Land & Slaves, from which they derive the proceeds in the fall and winter. The rest of the year they are not *always* flush of money. They enter in but few speculations, and those few are often found unproductive. Everything goes on, as it did in the days of yore. There is no chance or use of competition in any thing. They have in W. built a steam Boat. The original shares were \$100. Since they have sold for 20\$. One man sold his share for a cut of Bacon, many for not more. She cost them \$20,000. The present owner gave about \$3,000, and has been on an expence by her ever since. Two others were purchased to run to Fayetteville. They were own'd at different places. By them money has also been sunk. At one time the Treasurer of the Boats, having bot up many shares at a reduced price, advertised a proffit of 25 pr. ct. He took his whole salary, and private property to pay it, then sold out at a great proffit. They once dug a canal in Fayette. and sunk money by it, but to make it popular, the [they] declared a handsome dividend, and borrow'd money to pay it. These are a few instances of their speculation.

Wilmington, N. C. I can not quit the subject I am on, without again writing on Wilmington, to describe it, as it stood in 1825. W. had suffer'd severely by a number of large fires, that did great damage to the place. While at the North every fire they have is the means of helping the looks of their towns, by clearing away the rubbish before the ashes is cool, and building handsome houses and streets. They seem to be benifited by the fire. But here it is quite the reverse. It only leaves a scene of desolation. All over this place you see the old buildings as the fire left them, walls half standing & chimbly bending, that appear ready to fall on the heads of those passing by. How W. was built

I do not profess to know, or how they came to choose such a sandy spot, but speculation will not again extend itself to build here. If the fires burn the inside of a house the outside (of brick) is permitted to stand untill time crumbles it to dust, and too show what the town once was, and what never will be again, at least for many years. The place is consider'd so unhealthy that very few remain in it all summer. At this time, the summer of 1825, many of the stores are shut, which however is a common thing in the winter as many of the native Store keepers will shut up their Stores to go two or three days to horse race, or an excursion in the country and all shut up (master and clerks leave the Store) to go to their meals.

Religion in N. C. The services of the Church in this part of the country are but little attended too. The Episcopal church in Wilmington is in general open Winter & Summer, but when the minister is obliged to go out of town, it is shut. It is pretty well attended. Those of the higher class of the place are the principal members. There are many of the Northerners also attend, but do not belong to it. The Prebiterian church is now shut, and has not been regular open for some time. There is a Baptist church, which is not finished, tho, it was begun some time back. It was open'd in the spring of 1825, for a few weeks for the Rev Abner Kneeland to preach in, when it was always crowded. There is also a very neat and commodious house for the Methodist, for they, like Frenchman will live and thrive, be they were they will.

The ministers of this church always make it a practice, at the conclusion of their sermons and prays to work up the feelings of their congregations to such a pitch as to set them a groaning and crying in which makes the services very unpleasant. The slaves who attend in great numbers, make the house ring with noise. This meeting house is always open. There are meeting houses, round the country, where they have preaching once a month. One person preaching in a number of places. The principal natives of W. seldom attend church, tho, there families always do. There is no Universal church in W. Should there be, it would be always full or for a time at least. Many of the Carolinians & Northerners are partial to that class since Mr. K. visit.

Slavery. Much has been wrote, and more will be, on the subject of Slavery, but it is very unfortunete for the friends of emancipation that its advocates know so little about. By some means or other they have found out some of its curses, and in part the aggravations of a slave. That part they paint in its most horred colours. They do not shew both sides of the subject, only the curse it is to both slave and owner, and that they know by hear say. If many of them where to live in a slave state a year, their ideas on the subject would undergo a very great change. There are many advocates of the emancipation of the Blacks, among their owners, who would willingly sacrificse by geting rid of every Slave they own, but they do not spend their breath in writing about. They see no remedy for it, but eventable ruin on their side. The non

slave holding states would lose nothing by it. In fact they would, or part of them gain by it. There would be a wider feild for her labourers, which is now occupied by the Slaves. It would make many a childless parent. The emigrating labourers of the North, perhaps in the general want of Blacks, would take their places at the South. Many of them encouraged by the hopes of great gain would attempt the culture of Rice, and death would be the consequence of their rashness. The Southern climate sweeps off thousands of Yankees in the different business they already follow there, but should they ever attempt the culture of Rice they would then [one word effaced, possibly "see"] its affects. They would then find that only slaves could live on a Rice plantation, two feet deep in the mud and water, and covered with every kind of insects whose stings would draw the blood from every vein. The condition and treatment of many slaves are shocking to humanity, while that of others are quite the reverse. I know many slaves who would not change their slavery for the condition of a [any] free Negro they ever saw. Some of them own four or six horses & drays. There are two or three drayman in W. that have bot hacks to keep for hire, that cost them nearly the price of a slave, and buy a horse when ever they see one they fancy. I saw one horse brot to town for sale. They could shew few better in the place. After the owner had [one word effaced, possibly "tried"] the market all day, he sold him to a slave, who was worth three times the price of his freedom (his owner a Yankee). Others there are, that carry on different trades, hire journeymen, take apprentices, & carry on the business pretty largely. There are many that have some education. I know a few that can write a handsomer hand than two thirds of the clerks in any city in the union. Some will purchase their freedom, but not many. They prefer having a owner and protection, one who feel & take an interest in their affairs, and see them *righted*. Where a man on a plantation owns but a few slaves they live and fare as well as his children. On large rice plantation they have their peck of corn a week. Some have that, and 4 or 5 lbs meat, or a qt or two of molasses. They have one suit of cloaths a year.

These fare miserble. They are a different set of beings from the slaves in town. The latter hire themselves of their owners, and pay 8 or 12 pr month, find themselves in every thing, their owners paying Docter's bills, that they generally pay puntually, live & dress in the mean time handsome. It is a fact that many slaves are more capable of conducting business than their masters. Some of them are sent to market with produce, which they sell, purchase what they want for their owners and return the ballance of the money. But I never knew a slave to pay another man a debt he ownd him, after he had closed business. While the storekeeper continues in business he will pay him, to keep up his credit, but when he quits business, the slaves never will pay him. There master's trust them, having the power to make them pay.

It will be years before slavery can be done away in this country. That it will be one day or other there is no doubt. Many new States will come into

the union, without the privilage of holding them. Slaves do not increase as fast as the whites. Many are sat at liberty. Free blacks are leaving the country. Some of them in time may purchase some of their relations in slavery. Those sat at liberty will have to leave the State. In some States they have to now, and they ought to in all, for a free Negro at the South is allways a miserble fellow. He will not work much and he stirs up the others to revolt. He has no owner, therefor no protection. No one cares for him. No one haves or takes any interest in him. If he should be a Machanic he can not do but a little. He can not sue a white man, and it is against the Law to trust a Negro. Whereass a slave that is a mechanic has his owner, and his owner's friends for employers. If a white man owes him he has his master to see him paid. If he is sick, his master for his own interest will send him a Docter, and for the same reason fee a Lawyer for him should he be carried to Court, but a free negro must battle his way thro, as he can. The Advocates for Emancipation should not look to congress for help to blot out this stain on our country. They will not be surported there. The members from the slave holding states are too numerous and powerfull for those from the non slave holding ones, and if it can not pass the house at this age can it in another. The former are growing by the members from the new states that are continually coming into the union. They will one day be too strong, and of course have the ascendancy. When they once can rule the house, they will do it. That is an opportunity they will not mis. The advocates of more land, whose cry was purchase the Floridies, and now is, purchase the Havannas, and all Cuby let them look to the consequences. There is a time and size for all things, and to that size this country has already got.

Commotions. The Northern & Southern interest already clash. Let us not have an W. I.⁴ interest to meddle with with what we now have. The Southern States look with a haughty and suspicious eye on the North. They appear to think to think the Northern States lookout for only themselves. Those of the North look on the South as a proud over bearing jealous people who want more [than] they ought to have. Thus while each are fighting for the loaves and fishes, Virginia steps in and takes the whole. One day or other there will be a great misunderstanding between the different states. It can be no other. For if they would keep cool there would be no difficulties between them. But at some future day they will rise on some subject, and come to dagger's end with each other, without considering the consequences, and whose at fault but that such a period may never happen should be the wish of every American. The great Canals that are about to be cut in different states will have a tendency to bring them on more conciliatory terms with each other. They will then see the advantages of the other states and disadvantages of their own more [than] they do now. By having Calans cut thro

4. West Indian.

the union, they will have a better acquaintance with the other States, which will render them more compact and mutual, than they have been, and each State will see the necessity of breaking down any civil commotions that may take place within her limits. The very low price of traveling at this time 1825, will bring all ranks and clases of people together. The Northern and Southern will meet each other at every section of the country. They will each see the wants & the comforts of the other, and by their seeing the other at his own homes, they will feel a greater infinity to each other than they did before.

(To be continued)

WORKING FOR WELLS FARGO—1860-1863*

Letters of Charles T. Blake

Arranged for Publication by His Son

ANSON S. BLAKE

TWO PAPERS read at previous meetings of the California Historical Society detailed the fortunes of a group of five young Yale graduates to which my father, Charles T. Blake, and Charles T. H. Palmer belonged, and who had come to California in 1849 with the gold-seekers. Each of these covered approximately a year's time, and detailed a distinct era in the development of placer mining in California. The mining experiences of the party were typical of those of the vast majority of miners. These two years had taught them that the rewards of the individual miner were precarious and that the average earnings were not very great, although the aggregate "takings" from the mines were vast. They perceived that serving the needs of the miners offered surer and larger returns than laboring in limited claims. Three of the group therefore became the controlling interest in the El Dorado Ditch Company, which furnished water at Michigan City, later Michigan Bluff, on the Forest Hill Divide, to wash the dry diggings on the hillsides which could be worked only for a few weeks a year with local water. The others became investors shortly in this enterprise, although this did not end their mining ventures.

Palmer and Roger Sherman Baldwin turned first to another need of the miners for their activities. In the busy life of the miner there was little time for the long and arduous journeys to the few post offices that existed in California, or for waiting at those places for the frequently delayed mails. Yet letters from home were far and away the most important of the miner's wants and the one in which delay was the least tolerable. Second only to letters were newspapers. Palmer opened a bookstore and news agency and became the local agent at Ophir of Gregory's Express, which collected letters at San Francisco and Sacramento and brought them to him for local distribution, carrying dust back on the return trip. He was established here in the early autumn of 1851, while the others did not get under way with their ditch till the next summer. In 1852, Wells, Fargo & Co's Express began operations, and Palmer became one of its early agents. In September, 1852, my father wrote of him as such.

By April of 1853, my father wrote from Michigan City: "As there was a branch of Wells Fargo & Co's Express going to be established here, I deter-

*This paper was read before the Annual Meeting of the California Historical Society, January 22, 1937.



CHARLES T. BLAKE

From a photograph taken while he was in the employ of Wells Fargo

mined to go in for two or three months at least. So here I am, buying dust, selling drafts, shaving notes, and in fact doing a general banking and express business." He shortly added the offices at Yankee Jims and Iowa Hill. The business soon became too large for one man; Edwin Tyler took charge of the Michigan Bluff office, the management of which was not incompatible with the secretaryship of the Ditch Company, and George Gideon Webster eventually became the agent at Forest Hill. Palmer and Baldwin moved from Ophir to Dotans Bar when the diggings at Ophir petered out, and thence to Folsom.

To follow the individual fortunes or occupations of the group as they continued on in this region to the close of the placer era is not the purpose of this paper; it is to give from Charles T. Blake's letters some idea of the service rendered to the mining community by the remarkable organization for which they worked. This will take us to a period somewhat later than the above dates, when the business in California had been systematized and had lost some of its pioneer aspects. A picture also will be given of the beginnings of express service in a new region where Wells, Fargo and Company followed the California placer miners as they began to scatter north, east and south in search of new fields to conquer as their California era drew to a close.

Before turning to the letters, let us picture the conditions that obtained after the earliest days of the pack mule express as described in *The Pioneer Miner and Pack Mule Express* by Mr. E. A. Wiltsee. By 1850 several eastern express companies had opened California offices. One of these, Adams & Co., was an offshoot of Adams Express of the eastern coast. Under the guidance of D. H. Haskell, the resident partner, the firm expanded rapidly, setting up offices in many places; in opposition to individual operators in some places, under working arrangements with others, and seeking to obtain the miners' confidence everywhere. Adams & Co's New York connection with Adams Express was of great advantage: it permitted the drawing of bills of exchange and the selling of drafts on all eastern cities through a firm of undoubted standing. Adams & Co. soon became one of the leading shippers of gold, almost equalling the banking firm of Page, Bacon & Co. These two firms and certain other private banking houses had succeeded certain mercantile houses of the earliest days in making available to the miner the proceeds of his toil. To begin with, an arbitrary value was assigned to an ounce of gold dust, and the miner paid a rather heavy toll for the privilege of converting it into money value. However, the decline in the value of merchandise, improved communication, competition among the buyers, and operations on a larger scale on the part of the miners, had improved the miners' position considerably by the time Wells, Fargo & Co's Express started in 1852.

The company first advertised itself as Wells Fargo & Co's Atlantic & Pacific Express, a joint stock company, with a capital of \$300,000. Evidently representatives of the owners had been in the field for some time. They were

well versed in existing conditions and were guided by the best traditions of the eastern express business. They did not rush into competition, but as the individual express concerns found their letter and newspaper business becoming less profitable under lowered rates, and their gold buying operations imperilled by the necessity of doing a large volume of business in order to insure profits, one by one Wells Fargo & Co's Express or Adams & Co. took them over. The best men were retained and drilled in the company methods. The growth of the business was not spectacular until the failure of Adams & Co. in 1855. Wells Fargo & Co's Express then took over everything that was worth taking. By the end of the decade it had a virtual monopoly in California, built on good judgment, good service and a capacity to confine its operations to its legitimate functions. Prior to Adams & Co's failure, Wells Fargo & Co's bullion shipments never equalled those of its rival, who in turn never quite overtook Page, Bacon & Co., but apparently its system of gold dust buying was sounder. The mint in San Francisco was opened in April, 1854, giving the miners one more outlet for their product and one more check on the rapacity of those who sought it. It also added another important service to the duties of the express companies in the transportation of coin to the interior towns, supplying a much needed circulating medium and serving to protect the miner by enabling him to avoid the necessity of local barter.

The first letter here printed shows the further progress of this evolution as exemplified by the work in Palmer's Folsom office. My father had just finished a year there, where he had taken the place of Roger Sherman Day, Palmer's brother-in-law, who had had to leave because of ill health. The office at Folsom was an important one, for many of the stage lines which originally had started from Sacramento had moved to Folsom on the completion of the Sacramento Valley Railroad in February 1856. Nine of these are mentioned in the letter which follows. In a few years the number had increased to twenty-one and included the vast traffic destined for the mines of the Comstock Lode at Virginia City, Nevada.

CHARLES T. BLAKE TO HIS PARENTS

Folsom, April 15, 1861

. . . My new place I soon found to be no sinecure. Palmer, as you know, in addition to his assay and gold dust business has the agency for Folsom of Wells Fargo and Co's Express which has agencies in every large mining town almost in the State. Folsom is at the end of the Sacramento Valley Railroad and is the central point of nine stage routes on which are situated over thirty of the most important of the W. F. & Co's interior offices.

To carry the treasure which is continually coming and going from these various places every coach has in the place where the back seat usually is a heavy wrought iron safe fitted closely to the coach body and built in. It is

arranged so that when closed and a cushion put over it, it answers for a seat. The safe has a square hole cut into the top, into which fits closely a moveable door with heavy bolts and lock. A heavy bar of iron shuts down over the door and is itself secured by a large padlock. Every day when the stages come in these doors and padlocks are taken off and carried to the office and kept over night. The cars come in to connect with the up country stages every morning at quarter before eight, and by that time we had to be through breakfast and down at the office. Two of us used to go over and carry over the iron doors and padlocks and distribute them among the coaches. A messenger came up on the cars who had everything arranged so that as soon as the cars reached the platform he handed out the treasure, put up in bags marked with the names of the different offices. These I distributed among the different stages and locked all the safes, while the other man and the messenger occupied themselves in getting the various parcels and packages of heavy freight put aboard. The passengers crowd from the cars on to the stages so that before you get half through your rounds you have to empty a stage of its passengers in order to get at the safe. Chinamen are the worst nuisances in this respect. There are a great many of them travelling and they always rush for the back seat in the stage. Once in they won't move and if you try to explain to them they put on the most stolid look possible and say "No sabe." There isn't any time to waste and the only way was to take them by the throat and jerk them out. They understand that.

You have no idea of what a nuisance these Chinamen are becoming in the country. They are the most selfish, piggish, depraved animals in the world. They are the most impudent rascals in the world too. In San Francisco on crossing the muddy places in the street I was knocked into the mud two or three times by them when there was ample room for two by letting each step aside a little. I had stepped aside enough to let them pass, but they just marched straight ahead in the middle of the walk and shoved me into the mud. I learned then never to turn out for a Chinaman. When he finds you determined not to do it he will give way. If anything could drive this state into a separate Republic it would be an interference with us on this Asiatic question. These animals have got to be driven out of the State one of these days. If no constitutional way of stopping them coming here can be found, the miners will take the matter into their own hands and drive them out. But this is a digression.

After the up country express is disposed of, the Folsom express matter has to be overhauled and delivered. Very often quantities of heavy freight come up to be sent off by team to different parts of the country. One morning we had a hundred tons of freight to send to Washoe by team. Another time we had three companies of U. S. soldiers and twenty thousand pounds of baggage consigned to the express—Wells Fargo & Co. had contracted to deliver them in Washoe. We had to furnish them with meals even. All these things

occupied the time pretty fully for about an hour every morning. As soon as I got leisure, I would come back to the office, clear out my furnaces, get the fires ready to start, do what little putting to rights was required and was ready for my assay customers.

But now let me say something about this assay and gold dust business before I go any farther. The gold in every ravine and hill in California varies in appearance from any other. Each particular lead contains gold with a physiognomy which tells an expert at once from whence it comes. The value too of different kinds of dust varies greatly. For instance here at Michigan Bluff we purchase probably one hundred different kinds of dust varying in value from \$13.00 up to \$19.25 per ounce. Gold will often vary \$2.00 an ounce in value in claims not one hundred feet apart. Since there is so great a difference in the value of the gold, it becomes necessary for the buyer to become thoroughly acquainted with the appearance of the gold from every locality and with its value. This can only be done by repeated assays from every new mining region that can be opened. As it would be manifestly impossible for men in such great centers as San Francisco and Sacramento to have this minute acquaintance with the whole mining region, the gold dust business had got to be restricted to the mining centers where the buyers make it their business to know the gold and its value the moment they see it. Should a man present himself with dust which they do not recognize they ask where he dug it. Should he mention any place within their mining region they would know at once whether he told the truth. Should he say that the dust came from a distance they would refuse at once to buy it, taking it for granted that a man would sell it near the place taken out if it was of good quality and would command a high price there. They, however, offer to send it down for him for coinage and make an advance on it if he wants the money to use immediately. Seven or eight years ago the dust all over California used to be sold at a nearly uniform price, say about \$17.00 per ounce. Dust buyers put all their purchases together and in most localities would make a fair thing of it. But in some localities the poor dust preponderated so greatly over the good that the dust buyers and merchants found themselves losing and were compelled to make a discrimination in their purchases. Dust in those places fell. In other places, miners when they happened to get large lots of dust, would send them to the mint themselves and discover that their dust was worth perhaps \$2.00 an ounce more than they had been getting for it. They would of course refuse to sell any more at the regular price. In such places dust would go up. Now the miners in the poor gold districts, not liking the reduction in price, tried in every way to get rid of their gold at higher prices than it was really worth, and would take it away from home to sell it. But as the dust dealers within any reasonable distance got acquainted with it, they were gradually compelled to extend operations until it got to be a regular business. A man would go round every week to sets of claims, gather up all

their dust, go out into the mountains to the various mining towns, especially to those where the dust bore a high price, and peddle it out. A man with four or five hundred ounces of dust worth \$14.00 an ounce would often dispose of the whole of it for \$17.00 an ounce in less than a week, halving the profits with the owners of the dust. The business, however, soon ran out as the mountain buyers got to know the dust, so that it became impossible to sell it just as it was taken out. Then the game was started of mixing dust. Miners are continually on the move and these peddlers in their jaunts through the country would come across acquaintances working in good gold dust localities and would make arrangements with them to furnish them with poor dust to mix in with their own gold dust to sell. This business ran out in a year or two. Miners as a general thing refused to lend themselves to the swindle. Dust buyers in the poor districts made it their business to find out who were in the trade and to warn the up country dealers of any particular lots which were sent up to be mixed. Some of the peddlers had pistols put to their heads and were compelled to refund to some of those they had swindled and the whole business was gradually dropped as too dangerous to be followed. Dust buyers nowadays are not easily deceived and can generally tell very accurately the amount of profit they will make on any given purchase.

Our profits here average net—very evenly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on our weekly purchases. After buying the dust it is generally thrown into two lots, one to send to an assay office, the other to go to the mint. If you send gold to the mint you have to wait from ten days to a fortnight for your returns. If you send to an assay office you get your returns within twenty-four hours. If the mint made returns as soon as the assay office, nearly all the gold taken out would go through it, but as it is, a man sending to the mint has to employ double the capital which he would use when sending to an assay office. This in a country where money is worth two per cent per month makes a great difference. Still even now it pays to send dust to the mint which is either of a very high or a very low fineness. Dust which is over 950 fine or below 700 fine is generally minted. You will understand by this that gold when melted into a bar is more or less alloyed with other metals, the alloy being usually silver. The proportionate amount of gold is ascertained by assay and is reckoned in thousandths parts. If there are found in the bar 900 thousandths of gold and the rest [is found] to be other metal the gold is said to be 900 fine. Now the charge for coining gold of all finenesses is $\frac{1}{2}$ of one per cent, but in addition to the coining charge they make another which is called the “charge for parting” which varies in amount according to the fineness of the bar. On bars between 800 and 900 fine which will include three-fourths of the gold dug, this charge is 14 cents per ounce. It is for separating the silver from the gold. The silver separated is allowed to the depositor providing it amounts to five dollars. When gold goes below 700 fine the charge for parting is only three or four cents per oz. and when above 950 it is nothing. In this latter case, however,

no silver is allowed the depositor. About half of our gold now goes over 950 fine. At the present prices of bars, it will pay 15 cents an ounce more to mint this than it will to assay it. So we keep all the dust in lots graduated as to fineness. Say we have when we come to ship dust 50 oz. 980 fine, [and] 50 oz. 920 fine, we throw them together as the mixture will go 950, always allowing a little larger proportion though of the better dust in order to make sure, as if by any chance the mixture should go 949 or lower we should have to pay the parting charge. The rest of our dust we send to an assay office.

The mints in Europe make no charge for coining and the charge for parting there is only about 6 cents where ours is fourteen. This makes a difference in favor of sending gold abroad to be coined of about 17 or 18 cents per oz. Now gold is continually being exported to Europe from the United States and it is just as well to ship bullion whose value is accurately ascertained as coin. The cost of ascertaining this at an Assay Office is $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent, about four or five cents per oz., leaving about 13 cents an ounce profit on bullion over coin. This advantage an Assay Office has over the mint, in addition to the time gained, which at current rates of interest amounts to from 10 to 15 cents per oz. The consequence is that nearly all the gold taken out in California goes through the Assay Office instead of the mint.

Sometimes though, as now, gold instead of going from the United States to England, comes the other way. In this case bullion would have to pay freight out and back to England and the interest on the time it was gone, in order to get the advantage of the low rates of European coinage. In such cases the dust is usually minted at home, the Assay Offices having the advantage over the mint here in the difference between 2 per ct. a month and six per ct. a year (the difference between interest at home and interest here) on the ten days or a fortnight that they gain over the mint in time. Still if the mint becomes crowded in consequence with deposits, the time in which returns can be made to depositors becomes extended sometimes to three weeks or a month so that the Assay Offices hold their own pretty well.

In the Assay Office the gold is melted and cast in iron moulds into a flat thin bar. A small chip of about 10 or 15 grains weight is then cut off from each of two diagonally opposite corners to assay. The proportion of gold in each of these chips is ascertained and should they agree the proportion in the whole bar is supposed to be the same. Should they differ, a reassay is made, and should they then differ the bar is remelted and recast. When the amount of gold is ascertained, the name of the assayer and the number of ounces and hundredths, the fineness and the value of the gold, are stamped on the bar and sometimes, though not always, the value of the silver in the bar. If there is any alloy beside silver in the bar in any quantity it will make its presence known. In order to make a bar merchantable it often has to go through a refining process to expel the base metals. Generally however the quantity of base metal is so small that it is only reckoned at 5/1000. Thus in a bar

found to be 900 fine in gold the silver would be reckoned at 95 one thousandths allowing the rest for base metal. The assayer now returns the bar to the depositor with a memorandum of the weight of the gold before melting, or its weight after, its fineness, of the value of the bar and of the chips taken from it for assay, and of his commissions. The value of the chip is deducted from the commissions paid him. Almost all the country dealers in dust have made arrangements with bankers below who act as their agents, depositing the dust with the assayers, and receiving and selling the bars. They credit their customers with the amount of the bars at the current rates the day they receive them. Their profit is made either in holding on to the bars until steamer day or in advances made to gold dust customers on their dust. These advances are generally reckoned at $1/15$ of 1 per ct. a day. Thus suppose I send a banker \$5000.00 in dust to be assayed, I draw against this dust on the same banker \$5000.00 in checks which are sent all over the country. \$3000.00 worth of these checks arrive in San Francisco and are presented the same day that the dust comes in. He pays them though he does not get the returns till next day and charges me in my account \$2.00. When he gets the bar next day he sends me the assayer's memorandum with his discounts or premiums marked on it and credits me the net amount. At the end of the month an account is made up of the daily balances against me, interest is reckoned up and it is charged against my account.

When bars are quoted in the market they are said to sell at 830 par or at 900 par. This means that in a bar of such fineness a purchaser gives the full value of the gold in the bar, relying on the silver alone for his profit. When bars are 900 fine par, a 100 oz. bar of that fineness will contain $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz. pure silver (which is worth 1.34 per oz.) for his profit less the expense of coinage of the bar wherever he sends it for that purpose. The lower the fineness is for par, the more silver he gets. But bars are not all of the same fineness, that rules at par in the market. In order to reduce them to that value, for every $10/1000$ that the bar exceeds in fineness the par rate they charge $1/10$ of 1 per cent discount on the value of the gold in the bar, this being very near the value of the silver there should have been in those $10/000$ s. For every $10/000$ less than the par rate they allow the $1/10$ for the extra silver. Thus bars rule at 830. I have a bar 900 fine to sell. A banker pays me the stamped value on the bar deducting $7/10$ of 1 per cent for discount. Were the bar 780 fine he would pay me $7/10$ premium. To avoid fractions they reckon the fineness for selling purposes at even 10's. Thus for selling bars from 896 to 904 inclusive are called 900 fine. This of course is only in reckoning discounts and premiums, not in estimating the value of the bar.

There are only four or five assayers in San Francisco whose stamp will sell bars at current rates. A bar with a new name on will only sell under a guarantee from some respectable house and only then at a discount from the ruling price. Having thus in effect a monopoly of the market, an opinion became

current some time ago that there was collusion between them and the bankers to mark down the fineness of bars. It was also supposed that was either carelessness or direct swindling in melting. Gold dust always loses in melting. The loss on clean dust ranges from 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On quicksilvered dust the loss will sometimes reach 8 per cent even when it appears as if the quicksilver had been thoroughly expelled. This loss, always uncertain, gives the melter a chance to swindle if he is so disposed. No one can reckon what the loss will be within $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. In order to avoid this extra loss in melting many of the dust dealers built furnaces and melted their own dust before sending it down. Still there was the chance of the fineness of their bars being marked lower than it really was. Besides gold dust buyers always have three or four assays which they would like to have made every week of small lots. Every one of these assays would cost \$3.00, the lowest charge made if made in San Francisco. Then the delay in getting returns in some cases where you wished to know immediately what a lot of gold was worth was a great trouble. Consequently some of the dust buyers, of whom Palmer was one of the first, determined to add assaying to their business. This enabled him to know the value of all the gold which he sent down, to assay all the small lots he wished, and brought in to him all the small assay lots which used formerly to go to San Francisco. A small country store keeper taking dust in payment for his goods and getting together \$500.00 would send it to San Francisco to be assayed. Now when the new office was established they would send it in or come in with it in order to have it done by a person whom they knew and in whom they had confidence. Palmer only charged the same rates they would have had to pay in San Francisco, adding the freights from Folsom to San Francisco and back. This made the proceeds to his customers the same as if the dust had been assayed at San Francisco. His own profit was made partly from an arrangement he made with a San Francisco assayer whose business had been falling off somewhat to take his bars and stamp them so as to give them currency in the market for $\frac{1}{8}$ of 1 per cent (just one half the usual price), but principally on the freight. Palmer as the agent of the express company has his treasure sent down for one-half the price to outsiders, and through his arrangements for checking is seldom obliged to have any coin sent up. So that his profit on assaying consists generally of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent on the assay and $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent on freight.

This checking business is a great thing for country gold dust dealers, as it enables them when they have established a good credit, to do business on a very small capital. In order to get checks free, merchants deposit their coin with them every day, drawing it out once a week. You pay the gold out for dust, it goes to the merchant and comes back at night. When you make your shipment you draw checks against it. At least three-quarters of these checks will not be presented until the proceeds of your bars are credited to you. In this land of hard coin checks to some extent take the place of paper money.

We have sold a \$4,000.00 check to a cattle dealer who took it down into Lower California instead of gold. This check was out five months before it was presented and charged to us. This is another slight source of profit which I may mention.

In assaying, especially in a small country office, most of the assays are small. The bars are hardly large enough to be marketable. Now as in reckoning the discount, from one 5 up to the next, in the fineness, counts as the intervening 10, it is an object to combine the bars so that the fineness of the compound bar will be as near a five as possible, but below it. By combining bars judiciously a man may make a 1/10 of 1 per cent profit on full one-half his shipment.

But let me get back to my life at Folsom. Some of our customers that lived nearest came in early in the morning, and we used to get their dust into bars by half past ten o'clock, at which time the up country stages began to come in bringing the bulk of our gold either in the hands of passengers or by Express. From that time till 12 o'clock, when the San Francisco train went down, we were driven very close. All the large bars that did not need to be combined, we chipped and sent down in the noon train, thereby saving a day on them. It was a close shave sometimes. I have had the melted gold in the fire when the five minute bell rang, poured it, dressed the bar, chipped it, weighed, sealed and waybilled it, and had it on the cars in time. The melting was usually finished by half past one, when if there was not a press of work, I went to dinner with the rest. As a general thing, two days in a week however, I lost my dinner and would not get up to the house until nine o'clock in the evening. When Palmer first commenced, he didn't anticipate doing a very large assay business and fitted up accordingly. While I was there, the business gradually increased to treble what it was when I came. Our accommodations were so cramped that we could hardly manage our increased business and as Palmer was expecting to build very shortly it seemed hardly worth while to spend any money in enlarging them. Unfortunately circumstances delayed his building about eight months longer than he expected and the only way to attend to the increasing business was to spend more time at it. One day when we had a big rush I did not finish my work until four o'clock next morning. About the first of last August Palmer began his new building. Rog, who by that time had got well enough to go to work, and myself, extemporized an assay office and melting room out of rough boards and between us managed to keep the business going on until we got into our new quarters. It was nearly three months however before the building was finished so that we could occupy it. When we got into it everything was arranged so that a man could work to advantage and one could do nearly as much work as two in the old office. After everything was arranged I gave the business up to Rog and went to San Francisco and stopped about a fortnight. . . . My intention was when I came up to go up to Deadwood, a little camp just above

here, and buy dust. I did not expect to do a very large business, but a Jew who is running us pretty close in the gold dust business here had established a store up there and was buying nearly all the dust taken out there and above. It was to get back some of the business that I proposed to go up there. Then it was a business that could be closed out at any time and in case we should want to do anything with the stonebreaker it would not interfere. The season however set in very stormy. Cold freezing weather followed by deep snows, which at one time cut us off from all communication from below for five days, blocked up all the ditches, stopped off all the water, and nearly all mining. What little gold was taken out hardly paid for the trouble in buying and the difficulty of getting up and down put a stop on all dust operations. As the winter wore along, hearing nothing from the stonebreaker and making up our mind that we should not get any machine out during the summer at least, we looked around for something to employ two of us permanently. The dust business had been gradually falling off, owing to a great many outsiders going into it. We made up our minds that the proper way to bring it up again was to start an assay office here and freeze out all the small outside buyers. So we have got one now just started and I think it is going to work well. . . . As long as the water lasts Ned has as much as he can do to look after the ditch. As Ned don't understand assaying I shall have to stay here to look after that. When water gives out Ned will be able to leave and attend to other business and will probably do so. . . .

CHARLES T. BLAKE TO HIS MOTHER

Folsom, March 10, 1863

I went to San Francisco about a fortnight ago, determined to do something before I came back to decide my future, both as to matrimonial prospects and business, and have reason to be satisfied with my success in both respects. Mr. Stiles gave his consent to the engagement, thus settling the most important affair, and as to business, I knew that Wells Fargo and Co. were about to open a new Express route through a new and rich mining country in Oregon, so I went to the Superintendent, Mr. McLane, and told him that I had thought of starting a gold dust buying and assaying office in the principal town on the route and would like the prestige and endorsement which their agency would give me. He told me at once that I should have the agency in any place I might choose to locate. Now the reputation of this firm is very high on this coast, so that to be an agent of theirs in any place gives one position at once, and the profits of an agency in any important place amount often to two hundred and fifty dollars a month and seldom fall lower than one hundred, so that if I make nothing from my other business I am at least safe from loss. I expect to leave Folsom therefore in a month or so, and go to Auburn City, Powder River, Oregon. It is about a thousand miles from

San Francisco and it takes about ten days to make the trip under the most favorable conditions. I don't like to be quite so far away from San Francisco just now, but it is an opening for business which I feel I must not neglect. I naturally feel more solicitous about such things now than I did in the old times when I had old bachelordom only to look forward to. . . .

CHARLES T. BLAKE TO HIS PARENTS

Folsom, March 11, 1863

. . . I suppose you were somewhat astonished at my selecting such an out of the way place in which to establish business, but all things considered I am satisfied that it is the best thing I can do. Until last summer I was content to work on a salary, but as soon as I saw some prospect of being let out of the prison of old bachelordom, I began to look around for some opportunity for going into business for myself. My only experience has been in gold dust buying and assaying, and the Express business. It would be an object for me of course to find some place where I could carry on all three at once. This I could hardly hope to do anywhere in California, unless I bought out some already established business. I might establish myself in some place and wait for a business to grow up, but this would require some little capital to go on and would take more time than I can just now afford. So my only alternative seemed to be to try some of the new mining regions which are every year discovered on this side of the continent. I thought once of going to the Humboldt silver region in Nevada Territory. I could start an assay office there which would probably pay my expenses and in the course of a year or two Wells Fargo and Co. will undoubtedly extend their express through there and I could get an agency. But until that was done my only chance to make money would be in speculating in Leads, a kind of gambling which does not hit my fancy, and then the country itself is the most desolate, miserable country to live in that man ever laid eyes on.

On the contrary the new mines on Powder and Boise Rivers in Oregon are in a well wooded and watered country very much like California only of course colder. The mines are extensive and rich like California in an early day. Wells Fargo and Co. are going to extend their express there this summer, giving me an opportunity to go into the gold dust business by furnishing a safe and reliable means of transmitting treasure. If however the mines are half as rich and extensive as is now supposed, I am confident that I can get into as good a business as I can desire in a very short time. So after considerable deliberation I have concluded to start for the North as soon as the season opens, so as to cause no delay in travelling. I shall probably leave San Francisco somewhere about the 1st of May. . . .

March 21st.—It is steamer day and the mail will soon close. . . . There has been an unusual rush of ore assays in addition to our regular business

on account of the discovery of a number of copper leads within six or eight miles of this place. Consequently I have written this letter at odd scraps of time and it may be a little disconnected. . . .

CHARLES T. BLAKE TO HIS MOTHER

Folsom, April 5, 1863

I sent you about a fortnight ago the first instalment of a long letter and fully expected to get off the rest of it by the last steamer. I had however to take Rog Day's place in the office for a few days and then got a notice from Wells Fargo and Co. that they wanted me to go to Oregon at once. So I went down to see them, have returned here to pack up and finish all my business, and am to leave San Francisco on the 7th. It is not yet decided which place I am to go to, but it will be somewhere on the Boise or Powder Rivers in the S. E. part of Oregon. I have had such short notice and have so much to do to get ready that I shall have but little time to give to this letter, but as soon as I get settled down in my new place I will give you the conclusion of my old letter and try and keep up a little more constant correspondence thereafter. I do not go up under quite as favorable auspices as I had hoped for. Wells Fargo & Co. have determined to start in the dust business in that section on their own account and to pay their agents salaries. I however have determined to go and shall get experience in the business there and learn something about the country and shall have a better chance to go into business on my own account if I should think best. . . . Letters to me will have to be directed to Ned at Michigan Bluff until you hear from me to the contrary. . . .

(To be continued)

CALIFORNIA'S INFLUENCE UPON THE CONSTITUTION OF ARGENTINA

By V. AUBREY NEASHAM

THE RECENT MEETING of the Pan-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires has emphasized the growing understanding between the nations of North and South America. Never before has there been demonstrated to such a degree the keen desire on the part of those nations to solve common problems.

In considering some of the problems of that peace conference, it has come to mind that there is more of a basis for understanding than many of us realize. We are prone, too often, to look upon the nations of South America, for instance, as receiving most of their culture from Europe and very little from the United States. Argentina, it has been said, looks to France for the stimulation so vital to her cultural growth.

Much of what has been said about the European influence on Hispanic-America is true. Nevertheless, all of the countries of the Western Hemisphere can claim similar European heritage to one degree or another. We of the United States have had our contacts with both France and England and have gained many of our institutions from them, as well as from other nations. The same can be said of Argentina and of every member of the Pan-American Union.

That there has been a reciprocal binding, not only between Europe and America, but between the nations of America, is evident. The Pan-American meetings to discuss common problems have been in practice since the early part of the Nineteenth Century. The success of those conferences has become more and more pronounced. They denote only part of a common bond, however.

An interesting example of the influence of the United States and of California in particular, in directing the course of a nation, is seen in the case of Argentina. The government set up in the Argentine, after independence was won from Spain in 1816, took many of its leads from that formed by the United States of America in 1789. The influence of the Constitution of the United States can not be denied in this particular case. It has served as a model for the republican form of government for the last century and a half.

The constitution to which is traced much of the inspiration for the rapid growth and development of modern Argentina was not drawn up, however, until 1853, after General Urquiza had risen to power after defeating the despotic Juan Manuel Rosas in 1852. The Constitution of 1853 is based to a large degree upon the Constitution of the United States and upon the concepts presented in the writings of Juan Bautista Alberdi.

Alberdi, thought of, usually, as the father of the Constitution of 1853, actually had no part in the forming of the final draft. His treatise, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la república Argentina* (Bases and points of departure for the political organization of the Republic of Argentina), however, served as a principal guiding light for the members of the constitutional convention.

The *Bases* was of importance, not merely as something to copy, but as a work useful in determining the views of and the procedure to be followed by Argentina's statesmen. It presented to the Argentinians a political, economic and social philosophy which aimed to make the greatest use of their natural possibilities and resources. In addition, a proposed constitution, which Alberdi hoped would serve as a guide for the constitutional assembly, was included. Leo Stanton Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, has recognized the importance of Alberdi's draft by saying:¹

It was reported by one of the delegates that during the preliminary session of the convention, considerable use was made of the "Federalist," but it is certain that the document which played the most important part in determining the views of the delegates was the draft of a federal constitution submitted by Juan Bautista Alberdi * * *

The *Bases* of Alberdi makes clear the necessity in Argentina for a change in constitutions, a change which would accommodate the need for progress and unity. Speaking, in 1852, of the then existing constitution, that of 1826, he says:²

Independence and liberty were for it the two great ends of association. Material progress, population, wealth and economic interests, which are everything today, were secondary considerations for the constitutional legislators of 1826.

He points out further that the ends of modern constitutions should be to organize and to constitute the practical means of taking emancipated America out of the state of obscurity and inferiority. Where independence, liberty and culture were placed previously at the heads of constitutions, provisions for free immigration, liberty of commerce, railroads and industries should be advanced as the essential means by which those ideals might cease being words and become realities.

The constitutions of other Spanish-American regions were drawn upon by Alberdi in the attempt to show what was needed in the new constitution of Argentina. Chile, Peru, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay in turn are reviewed, and in every case there is pointed out the limitation of liberty and freedom, all of which tended to suppress the elements of progress.

That region which seemed to Alberdi to offer most, by reason of its progressive constitution, was California. California, formerly under Spain and Mexico, had embodied in its Constitution of 1849 the very principles ad-

vocated by Alberdi. The following words express his admiration for that constitution:³

I have the good fortune of being able to cite in support of the system which I propose the example of the last celebrated constitution drawn up in America: the constitution of California, which is the confirmation of our constitutional bases.

The constitution of the new State of California, drawn up in Monterey on October 12, 1849, by a convention of delegates of the people of California, is the simple and facile application of the constitutional law dominant in the States of the "Union" of North America to the new government of the new State. That law is formed by the common sense, the right of all, among the inhabitants of those venturous States.

Without universities, without academies or law colleges,⁴ the newly-organized people of California have drawn up a constitution full of foresight, of common sense and of opportunity in each one of its regulations. It is direct and simple—at least there is no rhetoric, nor are there phrases, nor is there a tone of importance in its form and style: all is simple, practical and positive, without being undignified.

Five years ago dissenting cults, foreigners, commerce, were excluded from that territory. All was seclusion and isolation under the republican system of Spanish America, until the present civilization, provoked by these uncivilized and unjust exclusions, took possession of the rich soil, and established in it its laws of true liberty and franchise. In four years there has been established as a State of the first republic in the world, the country which in three centuries had not emerged from the obscurity of miserable hamlets.⁵

The gold of its placers has contributed to bring about that result; but it is certain that under the Mexican government, that gold would not have produced more than tumults and scandals among the foreign multitudes crowded frenziedly in a land sown with gold, but without government or law. Its constitution of liberty, its government of tolerance and of progress, will do more than gold to bring about the greatness of the new State of the Pacific. Gold will be able to attract thousands of adventurers; but only the law of liberty will make of those multitudes and of that gold a civilized and flourishing State.

The fundamental law of California, tradition of North American liberty, is calculated to create a great people in few years.

It provides that every one who lives there as the people of California shall enjoy the laws, privileges and prerogatives of citizenship itself, in concerning itself with civil liberty, personal security, inviolability of property, of correspondence and documents, of home, of transportation, of labor, etc. (Art 1, Sections 1 and 17).

It guarantees that no law will be made to impede one from acquiring inheritance, neither does it diminish the sanctity and the value of contracts (Section 16).

To the naturalized foreigner it confers a free vote in order to secure a seat in the legislature and in the government of the State, without more than three years of citizenship (Arts. 4 and 5).—It is

known that the general laws of the Confederation from the beginning of the Union open the doors of the Senate and House of Representatives to foreigners who have been naturalized in the United States. Americans know that in England naturalized foreigners are excluded. But "the particular situation of the American colonies (says Story) enables them to adopt a different system, with the end of stimulating immigrations and the establishment of foreigners in the country, and of facilitating the distribution of unoccupied lands,"—"I have noted rightly (says Story) that by means of the conditions of opportunity fixed by the constitution, access to the federal government remains open to men of merit of all nations, be they natives, be they naturalized, young or old, without looking at poorness or wealth, whatever may be the profession of religion."

The constitution of California declares that no marriage contract may be violated by lack of conformity with the requisites of any religious sect, if on the other hand it was honestly celebrated. In this manner the constitution makes inviolable mixed marriages which are the natural means of family formation in our America, called upon to populate itself with foreigners and foreigners of good customs. To think of education without protecting the founding of families, is to hope for riches in a soil without fertilizer or preparation.

To complete the sanctity of the family (nursery of the State and of the Republic, the only fruitful means of population and of social regeneration) "the legislature will protect by law" (they are its beautiful words) a certain portion of the domestic residence and other belongings of each family head in order to prevent [their] forced sale (Art. 9, Section 15).

The constitution obliges the legislature to stimulate by all possible means the development of intellectual, scientific, moral and agricultural progress.

It sets aside directly and inviolably for the sustenance of public instruction a part of the lands of the State, and guarantees in this manner the progress of its new generations against all abuse or negligence of the government. It makes of education one of the fundamental bases of the political pact. All of title 10 is devoted to this.

It establishes the equality of taxation upon all of the properties of the State, and rejects the bases of the system of direct taxation which is suitable for countries called upon to receive from the outside much of their support, in place of the customs tax which is a burden placed upon the very civilization of these countries.

In support of true credit, it prohibits the legislature from giving privileges for the establishment of banks, it prohibits the issuing of all notes by banks, and only tolerates banks of deposit (Sections 31 and 35, Art. 4).

I have not tried to analyze the constitution of California in all of its protective dispositions for liberty and order, but only those that are related to the progress of population, of industry and of culture. I have cited these to show that what I propose are not impractical innovations but sensible and rational bases of organization of every growing country, which knows how to provide before

all the means of developing its population, its industry and its civilization, by rapid assimilation of many aliens and by institutions suitable for attracting and settling them advantageously in an isolated and obscure territory.

The above sentences of Alberdi by no means constitute the whole of his thought in the *Bases*. He goes on to discuss further the need of education, immigration, foreign treaties of amnesty and of commerce, religious tolerance and the stimulation of industry and of transportation as they should apply to the Argentine Republic. The constitutional assembly, he points out, should come to study, as well as to write, the natural laws which are most advantageous to the advance of the nation.

Alberdi's was a great and far-seeing spirit in which the progress of his native country came first. How well his visions materialized may be seen today in the strong southern republic of Argentina, which has some thirteen million people. These are endowed with a vitality of growth and expansion which has resulted in placing their nation among the leading nations of the world.

The recognition by Alberdi of California's destiny, as expressed by the provisions of the Constitution of 1849, is one more proof of the ties of intellectual understanding and admiration under which the peoples of the Western Hemisphere have moved forward. That there will be a greater recognition of these ties can be hoped for in the future. Dissemination of ideas by which the peoples of the Western Hemisphere can recognize the common grounds upon which they do stand, will do much to bring about that permanent good will and peace for which we are striving.

NOTES

1. L. S. Rowe, *The Federal System of the Argentine Republic*, 43. Washington, 1921.
2. J. B. Alberdi, *Organización Política y Económica de la Confederación Argentina*, 7. Besanzon, 1856. The Constitution of 1826, which had never been ratified fully by the provinces, was the second constitution adopted by the Argentine nation. The Constitution of 1819, a temporary document of a compromise nature, was the first adopted after the winning of independence from Spain.
3. Alberdi, *Organización política*, 26-28. Alberdi was able to form his opinions of the California Constitution of 1849 from a copy which came to his notice during a visit to Chile. The California Constitution of 1849 was largely based upon the constitutions of the States of Iowa and New York. See Cardinal Goodwin, *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850*, 238-43. New York, 1914.
4. By 1852, when Alberdi first wrote his treatise, there had been some start towards the founding of those institutions.
5. Alberdi, of course, was wrong in assuming that there had been white settlements in California for three centuries. What he meant, probably, was that there had been a contact with Spanish-speaking peoples for that period of time.

JOHN GANTT, "BORDERER"

By ALICE B. MALONEY

MOUNTAIN MAN of the American West was Captain John Gantt. Brief references to him and to his activities during the first half of the Nineteenth Century appear in diaries and chronicles and in military records of the region west of the Mississippi River where he roamed over plains and mountains, reaching at last the shores of the Pacific in California. His association with Captain Johann August Sutter and other early residents of California has brought his name to notice, but little has been known of his earlier life. A faint and murky cloud has hung over his past; a not unusual phenomena in the far West where so many men of mystery found their way. An examination of old records reveals the cause of the shadow and also some of the worthier exploits and achievements of this typical pioneer.

The Gantt family in the United States claims descent from Gilbert de Gantt, son of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England. Edward Gantt, born in 1738, a resident of Virginia, was both a doctor of medicine and a doctor of divinity and served five terms as Chaplain of the United States Senate. He moved to West Virginia in 1810, and died in Louisville, Kentucky, at the age of 96, in 1832.

John Gantt, son of Edward, was born in Virginia but was appointed to the U. S. Army from Kentucky, presumably in early manhood. The date of his birth is not given in his military record, which follows:

Gantt, John	Virginia, Kentucky
2nd Lt. rifle	24 May, 1817
1st Lt.	5 April, 1818
Trans. to infantry	1 June, 1821
Captain	28 February, 1823
Dismissed	12 May, 1829 ¹

Niles' Register throws light on the last entry of the record. In its columns of May 23, 1829, the following story appeared:

General Court Martial at Jefferson Barracks

Missouri, March 19, 1829—Captain John Gantt of the 6th Infantry was arraigned on the charge of knowingly signing false certificates in relation to pay. Dismissed from service.

Jefferson Barracks was then on the edge of the settled country, and what was more natural for a man in disgrace than to plunge still farther into the wilderness to take up the life of a fur trader? This was just what John Gantt

did. We next hear of him in 1831 through his association with a well-known figure.

Thence they returned to Green River, where they found some trappers under the command of Mr. Sinclair, who left New Mexico soon after Mr. Fitzpatrick's party, and had wintered on the Bear River. Among other facts, they learned from this party that Captain Gaunt, who was an old mountaineer, well known to most of the whites present, had passed the winter on the Laramie River, and that he was then with his men in the South Park. Kit Carson and four of his companions determined to join him. For this purpose they started, and after ten days of steady travel, found his party. . . . Kit and his companions were graciously received by Gaunt; and with him they trapped the streams in the vicinity of the North Park and the plains of Laramie to the south fork of the Platte. Having finished here, they left for the Arkansas, remaining there while their captain went to Taos to dispose of their stock of furs and to make such purchases of necessities as the men required. Gaunt returned after an absence of two months, when trapping operations were resumed on the Arkansas River, which they trapped until it froze over.²

The firm of Gantt and Blackwell appears in St. Louis annals about this time. Zenas Leonard engaged in the service of this firm and left St. Louis on April 24, 1831, with a party of seventy men on an expedition to the mountains. The party divided; later quarrels arose and the men abandoned efforts as a group, hiring out to Fitzpatrick.³ Chittenden, in his *History of the Fur Trade of the Far West*, says: "Fitzpatrick hired a party of men at Laramie River belonging to the firm of Gant and Blackwell, who had experienced a most unfortunate campaign at trapping during the previous winter."⁴ This would fix the date as 1832. Bancroft notes that Captain Gantt trapped between New Park and Laramie Plains about 1831,⁵ which further corroborates the time and place of Gantt's activities.

Captain B. E. L. Bonneville, on leave of absence from the U. S. Army, was on the plains in the early thirties with a party of men and encountered Gantt. In a letter addressed to Major General Alexander McComb, Crow Country, Wind River, July 29, 1833, Bonneville wrote: "Gantt came up in 1831 with about 50 men, mostly afoot — done little, then retired to the headwaters of the Arkansas where I understand he has opened a trade with the Comanche, the Arapahoes & Shians."⁶

Gantt and Blackwell built a post on the upper Arkansas about six miles above Fountain Creek in 1832. Captain Gantt is said to have been the first hunter to establish friendly relations with the Arapahoes.⁷

Captain Gantt's trail is next picked up in accounts of a military expedition to the Rocky Mountains under the command of Colonel Henry Dodge.

Colonel Dodge in his report states that the guide was Captain Gantt, Indian trader, who was well acquainted with the country over which they were to march. Dodge commanded a famous mounted regiment which was in existence from March 2, 1833, to August 3, 1861. Until 1850 it served largely in the Mississippi Valley in the work of frontier defense, garrison duty, treaty negotiations, marches, expeditions, patrol duty, exploration, and in the enforcement of federal laws. The journal of Captain Lemuel Ford describes a sixteen-hundred-mile march of this regiment through the present states of Nebraska, Colorado and Kansas, between May 29 and September 16, 1835. There are several entries relating to Captain Gantt which indicate that his relations with the officers and men of the army were still of the friendliest and that his services were too valuable to be dispensed with by that body.

Tuesday 16 June 1835. Major Dougherty & Capt. Gant with two or three of the Omahaws arrived in the evening. left about 40 of the Omahaws on the bank of the Plat which we will cross in the Morning.

Wednesday, June 24, 1835. The col sent Captain Gant for two Arikaraw chiefs which had ran from the Grand Pawnee village on hearing of our approach to the Pawnee Loops.

Thursday 2 July 1835 Captain Gant with the Interpreter & some Indians Went in advance of the command for the purpose of Inviting the Rickorees to meet us or not leave their camps upon our approach.

Friday Aug. 7, 1835 Command remained in camp today awaiting the arrival of Capt. Gant who were sent out five days since for the Rapahowes Indians.

Monday, August 10th 35 Command remained at same camp Capt Gant arrived with a few Indians of the Rapahowes Chians Black Feet Grovents not more than 12 the command had marched so much farther than Capt Gant had told the Indians that they became disheartened & went back. Our horses took the Stampede ran several miles but we recovered them all.

Saturday August 15 1835 Command remained in camp until evening when we marched 1 mile down river for a change of grasing. This morning we had an allarm about 8 o clock by the firing of Guns by Platoons which appeared to be $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from our camp beyond a ridge. The command immediately formed in order of Battle to Surround & defend our camp which was in a Square & [on] proper enquiry it was found to be a party of about 100 Pawnee Loos [Loups] & about 30 Rickorees under the command of the Axe on a visit to the Schians for the purpose of Smoking the pipe of peace as had been recommended by Col Dodge as we passed them at the Grand Pawney Village.⁸

Friday August 28 35 Marched about N 80 E 16 miles Six horses were absent this morning four of Co G one of Co A & one of Co C ran off last night Capt Gant with a few men [went] in search of them & have not returned encamped on a Small Branch without wood about 5 miles from the river rainy evening & very cold.

Hugh Evans, Orderly Sergeant of Co. G, U. S. Dragoons, also kept a journal which he enlivened with descriptions of Gantt's exploits on this trip, adding interest also by his original expressions and spelling:

June 3. We were up at the usual hour this morning making preparations to cross the creek. Immediately opposite our Encampment was a large pile of driftwood which was supposed to be sufficiently strong (with some improvements) to permit our passage with safety. Accordingly there were a number of men detailed in felling trees on this rock heap and making a temporary bridge When to our surprise it suddenly gave way and swept off Here the indefatigable exertions and presence of mind of our guide was of great service to us. This brave hardy & enterprising man assisted by his own voluntary will and ingenuity in constructing a boat made of balsa hide which answered the purpose conveying our baggage across in safety.

28th Remain in camp awaiting the arrival of Capt Gant who came up today with two Riccarees who appeared to be entirely wild also four Pawnee Loups—who agree to accompany us to the Riccaree village they all remained with us today.

29th Capt Gant sent out to reconnoiter and try to find the Riccaree village.

July 3 We have been anxiously looking for the arrival of Capt Gant whom Col Dodge sent (in company with the first Riccaree chiefs that came to our camp) after this wandering tribe to inform them of our friendly intentions and bring them if possible to a friendly council at any rate find their encampment and meet them either as friends or enemies . . . This evening one of Capt Gant's party returned to our camp and informed us Capt Gant will be here tomorrow with a number of Riccarees who were disposed to meet us in a friendly council.

July 5 This morning Capt Gant arrived in camp with 24 of the principal chiefs & braves of the Riccaree nation.

July 30 Crossed over the divide between this fountain and the Arkansas river immediately after striking this latter river there came to our camp three Indians who proved to be Arapaho Chiefs. They embraced Col Dodge in the most friendly manner—This evening there came a large band and pitched their camp near ours—

July 31st These Indians inform us that this is not their principle town or band neither is their principle chiefs along. Accordingly this day the Col Dispatched Capt Gant with several Dragoons to inform them of our friendly intentions and bring them to our encampment. . . . On our approach near their town they came out to meet us and shook hands first with Capt Gant (with whom they were acquainted) and then went around alternately and shook hands with the rest of us.

August 1 The command marched today about 5 miles and passed an old trading establishment formerly occupied by Captain Gant.
August 5 Captain Gant not yet returned to us.

August 6 [The command arrived at Bent's Fort].

August 9 this evening Capt Gant arrives with about 100 Gros Ventre, Blackfeet, Snakes, Arapahoes and some Crows.

[The regiment marched southeast.]

August 15 An alarm was sounded. Col. Dodge immediately formed the line of Battle in extended order and remained there until a flag was sent over the hill to see from what source the firing originated. Capt Gant approached them with a white flag and found them to be a party of Pawnee Loups headed by their famous Chief Big Ax who said he had come into the Shyan country to make friends with them and on coming near their town had fired off his guns as a token of friendship—But from the well known custom of the Indians and the former hostilities existing between those tribes, It is natural to suppose that it was Big Ax intentions to come here to this Shyan encampment fall upon and kill and murder all they could & drive off all their horses (as the prairie around their camp was covered with horses).⁹

[Evans' diary ends abruptly on August 17.]

George Catlin, the artist, whose two-volume work on the North American Indians is invaluable to the student of western history, was also a member of the Dodge expedition. He describes the regiment and what is apparently the encounter in which Gantt advanced with the flag of truce although he does not mention Gantt by name at this time. Catlin established in New York, after years of studying and painting the Indians of forty-eight tribes, what he called "Catlin's North American Indian Gallery." This gallery contained over five hundred paintings of Indians and western scenes, together with "a curious collection of their costumes and all their other manufactures from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle." Catlin prints in his first volume a number of testimonials furnished by men whose lives had been spent in great part in the Indian country and who were familiar with the men and manners set forth in his work. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, heads the list. Another well-known name is that of W.

Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, whose headquarters were at St. Louis. We find under date of November 27, 1837, New York City, two testimonials of special interest:

We have seen Mr. CATLIN's Portraits of Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, many of which are familiar to us; the likenesses are easily recognized, bearing a strong resemblance to the originals, as well as a faithful representation of their costumes.

J. DOUGHERTY, Indian Agent

J. GANTT.

We hereby certify, that the Portraits of the Grand Pawnees, Republican Pawnees, Pawnee Loups, Tappage Pawnees, Otoes, Omahaws, and Missouries, which are in Mr. CATLIN's INDIAN Gallery, were painted from life by Mr. Geo. CATLIN, and that the individuals sat to him in the costumes precisely in which they are painted.

J. DOUGHERTY, I. A. for Pawnees,
Omahaws, and Otoes

J. GANTT.¹⁰

New York, 1837.

Several groups of Indians accompanied by their agents made the long trip to Washington in connection with treaties. Possibly Major Dougherty and Captain Gantt took advantage of such an excursion to view the gallery of their friend, the artist. In any event, Captain Gantt drops from the record at this time, to appear again in 1843 in western Missouri.

Late in the spring of that year the covered wagons of the Oregon-bound party called the Great Emigration began assembling at Independence, Missouri. On May 18 a meeting was held and two committees were appointed to confer with Dr. Marcus Whitman, Presbyterian missionary, who was returning to his Oregon post at Waiilatpu, near the present city of Walla Walla, Washington. The missionary declined appointment as guide and the choice went to Captain Gantt, noted as army man, trapper, trader, Indian fighter and one-time companion of Kit Carson. For the modest recompense of \$1 per head, counting men, women and children, Gantt agreed to lead the party as far as Fort Hall. There is plenty of documentary material on this emigration which included among its membership of 875 many outstanding men who later became prominent in Oregon and California.

Besides Dr. Whitman, in the party were Peter Burnett, destined to be the first elected Governor of California, James W. Nesmith, later U. S. Senator from Oregon, General M. M. McCarver, Jesse Applegate and brothers, P. B. Reading, and others not so well known. Among the late starters who overtook the party was a group of eighteen persons led by Joseph Chiles, which kept in contact with the main party until they reached the vicinity

of Fort Hall. Chiles had gone out to California with the Bidwell-Bartleson party in 1841, had returned to Missouri the following year, and was now, with three wagons, taking out a load of machinery for a mill. In his party were the two young daughters of George Yount, a former wandering trapper who had left his home in Missouri back in 1825 and was now a prosperous rancher in the Napa Valley.¹¹

James Nesmith in his journal of the trip mentions Gantt several times:

Sunday May 21 [1843]—Coopers Wagons with some others start out from the encampment in the morning. I go to Fitzhugh's Mills with Squire Burnett and others to see the committee and Capt. Gantt, in order to ascertain what arrangements had been made to secure the captain's services as pilot. This day was fine and clear. Took a farewell look at the State of Missouri. We overtook the wagons at a grove of timber, south of the Santa Fe trail, where we encamped for the night.

Wednesday May 24. Pursued our way towards Kansas River. Traveled about twelve miles. Let our wagons down the bank of the Rockariski (Wakarusa) River and encamped on the west side. On this evening Capt. Gantt came into camp. Weather fine.

Monday June 12. Left the encampment about 10:00 o'clock, this detainment occurred in consequence of some of the wagons being detained in crossing. I went on with the pioneers or advance guard. About 12:00 o'clock I discovered a buffalo on a ridge about two miles North of the trail. Captain Gantt, myself and four others started in pursuit of him. He in the meantime, came down in a hollow, either to drink or hide from us. When within about 200 yards he discovered us and after taking a most deliberate survey of our members, and seeming to weigh the chances like a general, he finally took to his heels, and we in hot pursuit. After running about half a mile, Captain Gantt came up and fired two pistols, which took effect in his fore shoulder. By this time I came up, and fired a rifle, the ball of which struck him in the small of his back and passed under his back bone, after which a Cherokee Indian fired a pistol and carbine. By this time he received seven balls, from pistols, principally and I was ready with my rifle loaded for another shot but Captain Gantt advised me not to fire as he would soon die.

July 26. The company started on a buffalo hunt. Saw a great many. Capt. Gantt got mad and all separated.

Wednesday, August 23. Lieutenant Fremont of the U. S. Topographical Engineers with his party overtook us this morning.

Saturday, August 26. Trailed sixteen miles, camped at some springs. Kit Carson of Fremont's party camped with us on his return from Fort Hall having been on express.

August 27. Ft Hall. Here we parted with our respected pilot Capt.

John Gantt.¹²

There were many hunting parties on the great plains in 1843. A newspaper article in the New Orleans *Picayune* of November 21 of that year says: "The writer passed the Oregon party on June 1. They elected a young lawyer of some eminence as we were told, named Burnett as their captain and engaged an old mountaineer known as Captain Gantt as their guide through the mountains to Fort Hall."¹³

Dissension early arose in the ranks of the west-bound pioneers. Burnett wrote to friends in the East. "None of us knew anything about a trip across the plains, except our pilot, Captain Gant who had made several trips with small parties of hired and therefore disciplined men. But my company was composed of very different materials; and our pilot had no knowledge that qualified him to give me sound advice."¹⁴ Burnett resigned. The chief cause of dispute was the guarding of cattle. Those men who had means and were not driving stock objected to standing guard at night. A division was made. William Martin led the lighter column and Jesse Applegate followed with the herds. In that classic of the literature of emigration, *A Day With the Cow Column*, written by the Hon. Jesse Applegate thirty-three years later, one gets an unforgettable picture of the life of the expedition and of the labors of Gantt and Whitman in carrying it along. Applegate says of Gantt:

The pilot (a borderer) who has spent his life on the verge of civilization and has been chosen to the post of leader from his knowledge of the savage and his experience in travel through the roadless wastes stands ready, in the midst of his pioneers and aids to lead the way. . . . The pilot by measuring the ground and timing the speed of the wagons and the walks of the horses has determined the rate of each so as to enable him to select the nooning place as nearly as the requisite grass and water can be had at the end of five hours of travel.

Chronicling a birth which had threatened to delay the party Applegate continues:

This encampment is a good one, one of the causes that threatened much future delay has just been removed by the skill and energy of that good angel of the emigrants, Doctor Whitman, and it has lifted a load from the hearts of the elders. Many of these are assembled around the good doctor at the tent of the pilot which is his home for the time being and are giving grave attention to his wise and energetic counsel. The careworn pilot sits aloof, quietly smoking his pipe for he knows the good doctor is strengthening his hands. . . . Even the doctor and pilot have finished their confidential interview and have separated for the night.

On Independence Rock the train left this inscription: "The Oregon Company arrived July 26, 1843."¹⁵

At Fort Laramie that restless wanderer, Joseph Reddeford Walker, who had led the Bonneville expedition to California in 1835, was picked up. When the Chiles party separated at Fort Hall he was left in charge of the wagons, most of the men, and two women. Chiles and several companions went north to Fort Boise, and, striking across the little known wastes of southern Oregon, found their way into California. Walker led his contingent into California over Walker's Pass. Captain Gantt went with Chiles and was one of the nine men to press ahead on account of shortage of provisions and to enter California by a new route.¹⁶

Pierson Barton Reading, one of Chiles's group, kept a journal in which he mentions Gantt several times:

Wednesday, July 5th. . . . Captain Gantt, Mr. Cassan, and myself have been out all day hunting buffalo. . . .

Saturday 8th. . . . Captain Gantt killed two elk. . . .

Wednesday [August] 30th. Captain Gantt, Colonel Martin and myself pitched our tent near Fort Hall, purchased some horses and mules for the purpose of carrying our baggage and provisions. Leave our wagons at this place. The company we expect should arrive in a few days.¹⁷

Gantt is not mentioned again until the little party of nine was far on its way to California when Reading made this entry: "Tuesday [October] 24th. Captain Gantt's horse gave out toward evening."¹⁸

The exact date of the arrival of the group at Sutter's Fort is not known. All were given employment at once, according to Sutter. Gantt was friendly with George Yount and also frequented the ranch home of John Marsh.

Sutter mentions Gantt many times in his diary, not always with approval. He wrote of California troubles in 1844: "After my arrival at the Fort [on his return from Monterey], I began to organize a force for the General [Micheltorena], regular drill of the Indian Infanterie took place, the Mounted Rifle Company about 100 men of all Nations was raised, of which Capt. Gantt was Commander."¹⁹

John Chamberlain who was one of Gantt's company, says many joined the company against their wishes.²⁰ Just what pressure was brought to bear and by whom has never been clearly brought out. Theodor Cordua in his *Memoirs* also refers to the methods used to gain recruits:

Captain Sutter, who wished to receive forgiveness for a former offense against Mexico, sided with the Governor [Micheltorena]. Through a number of intrigues he succeeded in gathering about two hundred Europeans and Americans as well as two hundred and fifty Indians. Some of those who did not wish to volunteer were forced to join. I was one of these. The foreigners were mostly

settlers from the Sacramento Valley and Upper California. Sutter proposed to elect a leader, firmly expecting that he himself would be chosen. The choice, however, fell upon the brave Captain Gantt, an old doughty American, who formerly had been in the service of the United States. For his adjutant, Captain Rufuss, a German, was selected. Sutter and I remained unnecessary associates.²¹

John Bidwell says that there were about eighty riflemen and sixty Indians.²² Several of Sutter's friends and neighbors looked with disapproval upon his plans to aid Governor Micheltorena. Among these were Charles Weber and John Marsh. Sutter took delight in forcing Marsh to march in the company of infantry.

January 1, 1845, the army left Sutter's Fort. The infantry with Sutter embarked on his little schooner, while the mounted rifle corps went overland to the rendezvous at Marsh's ranch.²³ Insubordination, intrigue, and even treason marched with the forces.²⁴ J. A. Forbes and Charles Weber met the army east of San Jose and endeavored to dissuade the leaders from engaging in hostilities against the native Californians. Just how many of the mounted troop went on to Los Angeles is problematical. Sutter, himself, had little control over the foreigners, and the misgivings of his associates were borne out by subsequent events. Americans in the south sent a woman through the lines with a letter to Captain Gantt calling upon his company to abandon Micheltorena and to go over to the other side.

At Cahuenga, Sutter notes that his order to charge was not obeyed by the riflemen: "To my great surprise I found his [Captain Gantt's] men casting a ballot to determine whether they should stay on our side or go over to the enemy. The Americans in our ranks said that they would not fight against the Americans on the other side."²⁵ Marsh had talked mutiny to good effect. The Americans fraternized and confusion resulted. Micheltorena was defeated and banished. Sutter was taken prisoner, later to be released to find his way back to his fort in company with John Bidwell and others.

Just how and when Captain Gantt returned north is not known. While in the south he made a contract with the new Governor, Pio Pico, whereby he and John Marsh were to follow up Indian horse raiders in the San Joaquin, by forming an expedition, and were to receive five hundred head of stock for their services. The date of the contract was March 27, 1845. Prior to this contract Gantt had written to officials of the new government in Los Angeles. In the Bancroft Library is a single sheet of manuscript containing what is evidently a digest of the translation of this letter:

March 1, 1845 Ranch San Francisco

Juan Gantt to Mayor Gen. del Dept. Jose Antonio Carillo. Complains of the contents of a letter from Carillo, delivered him by Charles Flugge—declares that the charges agt hiself & his traveling

companions J. Marsh, M. M. Hensley & Dickey are unfounded and as honorable men they cannot but deem such accusations strange particularly after having been so kindly treated by the inhabitants of Los Angeles.

In his history, Bancroft says of the horse thief raid and the return of Gantt's party to the north: "I find no information respecting its results except that in June Captain Sutter declared his belief that the contractors would not be able to accomplish any of the great things promised, because the men were not willing to accompany them."²⁶

In a file in the Bancroft Library there is a collection of brief notes concerning John Gantt, together with references to various manuscripts, recollections and official papers in which he is mentioned. William A. Streeter in his "Recollections of Historical Events," tells of Gantt's command of the one hundred men of all nations.²⁷ Nidever's "Life and Adventures" says that he was one of the foreigners with Sutter.²⁸ The Nathan Spear Papers show him to have been in Napa Valley for at least a part of 1847-48, at which time Gantt was a member of the firm of Gantt and Hannah.²⁹ The firm had an account with Spear for brandy. On October 26, 1847, Gantt wrote to R. B. Mason, Governor of California, regarding a sub-Indian agency at Sonoma.³⁰ During this same year Gantt had plans for building a sawmill on his "Mountain tract."³¹ The location of this tract has not been determined, but a site near the grant of George Yount is indicated.

Bryant found Gantt ill at Marsh's ranch in September, 1847. "Captain Grant, formerly of the United States Army, in very bad health, is also residing here. He has crossed the Rocky mountains eight times and, in various trapping excursions, has explored nearly every river between the settlements of the United States and the Pacific ocean."³²

During 1848, the Larkin Documents indicate that he was traveling between Napa and Monterey.³³ The *California Star* of April 1, 1848, chronicles a meeting at the public school house in San Francisco on March 27, for the consideration of the matter of exploring Trinidad Bay, at which Gantt and Marsh were both present.³⁴

A fragment of a letter from John Bidwell, answering certain inquiries which had been made to him, is found among the notes on John Gantt in the Bancroft Library:

February 7, 1884.

Capt. J. Gantt I knew of course, being in the Micheltorena war as I was from the beginning to end. But Capt. Gantt took no part in the war of 1846-47 and I cannot recall the reason why. But it was one of two causes—he was too invalid or absent from California. After the discovery of gold he was here and worked a short time in the mines on Feather River in the spring of '49 near my camp. From there he went to Napa Valley and shortly after died

the same year. Possibly Jos. B. Chiles (who lives at or near Napa) can give more exact information about Capt. Gantt. Capt. Gantt had the reputation of being one of the best tacticians in the U. S. Army when he was in it.³⁵

In the *Alta California* of March 15, 1849, appeared the following notice:

Died: At the rancho of George Yount, Esq., in Nappa Valley, on the 14th of Feb'y last, of disease of the heart, CAPT JOHN GANT.

He was formerly in the United States military service . . .

An examination of material on Chiles has produced as yet no further information on Gantt, nor has any record of wife or children been found, nor any indication of correspondence with eastern relatives. John Gantt is buried in the little cemetery at Yountville.³⁶

NOTES

1. Heitman, Francis Bernard, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the Army*, September 29, 1789—March 2, 1903, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1903, I, 444.

2. Peters, Dewitt C., *Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventures*, Boston, 1888, pp. 59, 60.

3. Chittenden, Hiram M., *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, New York, 1935, p. 406.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

5. Bancroft, Hubert H., *History of the Pacific Northwest*, I, 515.

6. From photostat of original in Oregon Historical Society.

7. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, p. 943.

8. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 555 ff.

9. *Ibid.*, XIV, 192 ff.

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NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Brown, Hon. Everett J.	Piedmont	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Cross, R. H.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Dutton, Henry Foster	San Francisco	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Fay, Mrs. Luke	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Force, Raymond C.	Piedmont	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Hammond, John Hays, Jr.	Gloucester, Mass.	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Hill, Don	Beverly Hills	Mr. Henry R. Wagner
Jackson, Fred D.	Santa Barbara	Mr. William A. Bowen
Liebes, H. & Co.	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Los Angeles Museum	Los Angeles	
Melugin, Carl E.	San Francisco	Mrs. Charles L. White
Miller, Guy C.	Palo Alto	Palo Alto Public Library
Miller, Miss Juanita	Oakland	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Milton, Maxwell C.	Oakland	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
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Phleger, Herman H.	San Francisco	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
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Schilling, Rudolph	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Shoemaker, Miss Sue E.	Oakland	Miss Susan de Fremery
Sloane, Norman H.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Tucker, Mrs. James Ellis	San Francisco	Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee
Wills, Miss Madeline	San Marino	Mr. Henry R. Wagner
Wormser, S. I.	San Francisco	Mr. Alfred I. Esberg
Wreden, William P.	Burlingame	Mr. John Howell



THE PIONEER STEAMSHIP "SENATOR"

From a painting in the collection of Elwin M. Eldredge.

THE "SENATOR"

The Biography of a Pioneer Steamship

By JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

IN THE annals of navigation between the ports of California, no vessel achieved more fame than did the *Senator*. For a period of thirty-five years, she plied regularly; first between San Francisco and Sacramento, and later along the coast as far south as San Diego. At the close of her career, it was estimated that at least 1,000,000 persons had travelled in her, and one writer went on to say that "she made more gold than she could carry and has out-lived scores of the finest steamers afloat. . . ."¹ While the most picturesque years of her life were in her youth, when she was earning \$50,000 a week on the Sacramento River, the long coastwise portion of her service is full of interest, and a survey of her history is of importance not only for itself, but also as it illustrates the development and spread of steam navigation in California.

The keel of the *Senator* was laid in the yard of William H. Brown, New York, in the early part of 1848, and she was completed in June of the same year. With a length of 219 feet, 5 inches, a beam of 30 feet, 4 inches, and a depth of hold of 12 feet, 2 inches, the *Senator's* tonnage was 754 87/95.² She was propelled by side-wheels, driven by a vertical beam engine with a cylinder 50 inches in diameter, an 11-foot stroke, and of 450 horsepower, built by H. R. Duncan and Co.³

In her long career, the external appearance of the steamer changed but little. Her masts were removed and her guards were cut down during the years that she navigated the Sacramento, in one of her numerous overhauls the "hog frames" disappeared, and the open foredeck was built over, thus presenting higher bows to the waves of the Pacific. Her original internal arrangements are not clear, though when Bayard Taylor travelled in her from Sacramento to San Francisco during the winter of 1849-1850, he wrote that "her long upper saloon, with its sofas and faded carpet, seemed splendid enough for a palace."⁴ After an extensive reconditioning in the winter of 1852-1853, the contemporary press reported on her passenger accommodations as follows:

The lower cabin is unequalled in its size and convenience by any boat on the river, and has attached to it a fine barber shop. . . . The ladies' saloon is a most magnificent apartment containing large and airy state-rooms, comprising two perfect bridal chambers for any such of our citizens as may have the happiness to require them. . . . Everything appears to have been done to make her, as she is by rank, the flag ship of the fleet.⁵ After twenty years of service on the coastwise route, the *Senator* was extensively rebuilt, and her passenger accommodations increased to make it pos-

sible for her to carry 142 cabin and 50 steerage passengers. It was found, upon examination, that her oak hull was as sound as when she was new, and that the original beam engine was still capable of good service⁶. When the steamer finally left the coastwise trade, it was stated that "her after cabin through all changes was never touched, as the joiners on all occasions declined, for the reason that the highly polished rosewood and mahogany could not be improved on."⁷

The *Senator* was built to the order of James Cunningham of East Boston, who intended her for packet service between Boston and St. John, New Brunswick. During her "down East" career, the harbors of Portland, Belfast, Bangor, Eastport and Halifax, as well as Boston and St. John knew the *Senator*. Steamboats were still rather a novelty, and a new vessel often went from route to route to determine that on which she would be most profitable. With the opening of 1849, the *Senator* was chartered to the Fall River Line, which operated her in the Long Island Sound service during the early weeks of the year.⁸

Definite assurances of the extent and richness of the gold discoveries in Alta California had reached the Atlantic seaboard by the middle of December, 1848, and during the next few months, a feverish desire to reach the mines of California swept the eastern United States. With large numbers of emigrants travelling from the Atlantic to San Francisco by the Isthmus of Panamá and by Cape Horn, it was clear that there would be demand for transportation from San Francisco up the Sacramento River to a point near the mining area. The river voyage was tedious as well as difficult and dangerous when made in a sailing vessel, and it was soon evident that the enterprising individual who placed a steamboat on the route would truly reap a golden harvest. Lieutenant Lafayette Maynard visited New York at about this time with some such object in view, and during his stay purchased a three-quarters interest in the *Senator*.⁹

She was advertised to sail from New York for the Pacific Coast on February 25, 1849, but her departure was delayed until March 10. It was announced that a few passengers would be taken for the voyage to San Francisco at rates ranging from \$600 for cabin passage with the use of a stateroom, to \$300 for deck passage with crew's fare.¹⁰ No freight was taken, her hold and even her main deck cabins being used for the stowage of coal for the long voyage.¹¹ On March 10, 1849, the *Senator* cleared New York for San Francisco under the command of Lieutenant Richard Bache, who was on leave from the United States Navy.¹²

Her first port of call was Rio de Janeiro, where she took on water and supplies and sailed southward on April 27, 1849.¹³ The *Senator* was forced to put into Santa Catharina, Brazil, in distress, and did not sail from there until June 3. The steamer's coal capacity proved to be inadequate for the voyage, and while passing through the Straits of Magellan, her supply of fuel failed.

All the ten axes aboard were pressed into service to cut wood ashore to feed the fires. The crew toiled through the short daylight hours of the antarctic winter in snow three feet deep to cut the wood. There seemed to be no end to the heart-breaking work, for five days of wood-cutting furnished only enough fuel for one day's steaming. After passing through the Straits of Magellan, the *Senator* kept northward along the coast of Chile in the inside passage between the islands and the mainland until she reached San Carlos de Acud on Chiloé Island, August 8, 1849. Here she received a sufficient supply of fuel to carry her to Valparaiso, whence she continued to Panamá, calling at Callao on the way. On September 14, 1849, over six months after her departure from New York, the *Senator* dropped anchor off the city of Panamá, with her six passengers and the crew all well with the exception of the first mate, who left the ship here to return to New York.¹⁴

At the Isthmus, there was a great demand for passage to California, and when the *Senator* steamed away from Panamá on October 4, 1849, she had on board some 520 passengers who paid \$300 for cabin passage to San Francisco, and \$200 for passage in the steerage.¹⁵ The voyage north was accomplished in twenty-two days, which was fairly good time for the period, and on October 27, "the long expected *Senator* arrived" in San Francisco Bay.¹⁶

For a period of nearly six years after the arrival of the steamer in San Francisco, she was operated in the Sacramento trade, and during this time her financial success was one of outstanding magnitude, even for the "boom" period of California. Steamers had been in operation on the Sacramento for several months prior to the appearance of the *Senator*, but her size, speed and comfort so far eclipsed them all that she enjoyed a virtual monopoly until the advent of the *New World*, some time later.¹⁷ Her deep water bulwarks having been cut away and her masts taken out to prepare her for the river run, the *Senator* was first advertised to sail for Sacramento on November 22, 1849. Sailings were three times weekly at first, the steamer leaving Clark's Point, San Francisco, at 7 A. M. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and making the passage in about ten hours.¹⁸ In December, sailings were reduced to two each week, and trips were made by day in each direction.¹⁹

During the winter of 1849-1850, the price of passage from San Francisco to Sacramento was \$25, while that from Sacramento to San Francisco was \$30. The round trip from San Francisco to Benicia was \$15, and the fare from Sacramento to Benicia was \$20.²⁰ There were times during the first months of the *Senator's* service on the river when the rates to Sacramento went as high as \$35 for passage in the cabin, and \$15 on deck. An additional charge of \$5 was made for a stateroom, or of \$3 for a single berth. The price of dinner, the only meal served on the trip up river, was \$2.²¹ At the same time, freight rates ranged from \$35 to \$50 per ton.²² By June of 1850, passage rates had been reduced to \$25 for cabin and \$15 for deck.²³ With the passing of years and the increase of competition, rates were further reduced. In the early part of 1853,

when she was being operated by the People's Line, cabin fares to Sacramento in the *Senator* had fallen to \$10, with the forward cabin at \$6, and freight at \$8 to \$10 per ton.²⁴ With the foundation of a "monopoly" in the spring of 1854 by the California Steam Navigation Company, freight rates to Sacramento were placed at \$8 per ton, while the editor of the *Alta* expressed himself as feeling that \$10 cabin and \$7 deck passage were too high.²⁵

The exact amount of profit which the *Senator* brought to her owners during these years on the river has been a matter of frequent conjecture. A contemporary writer stated that the net profits to her owners during the first twelve months that she ran in California could be safely put down as exceeding \$600,000.²⁶ The statement was also made that her receipts for a round voyage often amounted to \$20,650, of which \$10,000 came from cabin passage, \$4,400 from deck passage, \$650 from staterooms and berths, \$1,600 from meals, and \$4,000 from freight. The *Senator* was fortunate in having a fairly large freight capacity of 400 tons, as compared with her rival, the *New World*, which could carry only 70 tons. During nearly four months, the gross receipts of the *Senator* were said to have averaged \$50,000 per week.²⁷ A man who knew the ship said that "it is safe to say that she cleared a million and a half dollars in five years."²⁸

When Bayard Taylor visited California in 1849-1850, he travelled down the Sacramento River in the *Senator*, which he found to be "a strong, spacious and elegant boat. . . . When I went on board, her decks were already filled, and people were hurrying from all parts of the town, her bell tolling with the quick, incessant stroke of a Hudson River boat, one minute before the time of starting." The general impression of the steamer upon Taylor was that she was very like one plying on a river in the East. "After passing the town of Sutter, the bell rang for breakfast, and having previously procured a ticket for two dollars, I joined the anxious throng who were pressing down the cabin stairs. The long tables were set below in the same style as at home; the fare was abundant and well prepared; even on the Hudson it would have given rise to few grumblings."²⁹

During the period of the *Senator's* operation on the river, she was usually run on a schedule of three sailings a week in each direction. The time of her departure varied through the years from early morning to mid-afternoon, though her stateroom accommodations were not sufficiently large to make her operation as a night boat as profitable as running her on a schedule which would permit arrival at her destination at a reasonably early hour in the evening. The added difficulty of night navigation on the river favored a daylight schedule. The original estimate of ten-hour trips was considerably reduced for the *Senator* proved herself to be one of the fastest boats on the river. In the spring of 1853, she made the run from Sacramento to San Francisco in 6 hours and 25 minutes, including a stop at Benicia, from which port she came to San Francisco in 1 hour and 40 minutes.³⁰ In December of

the same year, "this old favorite, the pioneer of the Sacramento . . . made the trip yesterday from Benicia to this city [San Francisco], in 1 hour and 35 minutes, the best time on record."⁸¹

The *Senator*, having been constructed for service in the ocean, was in many ways not ideal for the river. Her deep draft forced her to be laid up during times of low water, and her size was inconveniently great for navigating the crooked reaches of the Sacramento.⁸² The lower part of the river, or the "slough," proved to be a continual hazard to the steamer, and Taylor's description of the run through this section may be fairly typical.

We came at last to the entrance of the slough, the navigation of which was a matter of considerable nicety. The current was but a few feet wider than the steamer, and many of the bends occasioned her considerable trouble. Her bow sometimes ran in among the boughs of the trees, where she could not well be backed without her stern going into the opposite bank. Much time and part of the planking of her wheel-houses were lost in getting through these narrow straits.⁸³

The *Senator* did not always get off so easily, and on at least two occasions her paddle-wheels were severely injured in running through the "slough," beside often having her boats and bulwarks stove in by trees on the bank.⁸⁴

There is a story that on one trip, when the *Senator* was coming down to San Francisco under the command of Captain Seymour without a pilot, he attempted to run the "old river" instead of Steamboat Slough as usual. As he came out of the "old river" at the foot of Obispo Island, the steamer tore her rudder out on a snag. Two schooners happened to be lying there, wind-bound, and Captain Seymour offered to tow them to San Francisco for nothing in order to have his boat steered. The schooners were accordingly lashed on either side of the *Senator*, and she reached San Francisco in safety.⁸⁵

During her years on the river, the *Senator* naturally underwent periodic layups for repairs to hull and machinery, and for the installation of new boilers. It was during one of these that the *Alta* remarked that "an accident to this steamer must be looked upon as a public inconvenience."⁸⁶ In the late spring of 1855, the *Senator* was found to be leaking badly soon after leaving her San Francisco wharf for Sacramento one evening. She was immediately put about, but by the time she reached the wharf again the water was up to her port holes and she was rapidly sinking. Two steam tugs and several fire engines were soon alongside to pump her out, but their efforts were unavailing, and later in the evening she sank at her moorings. The cause of the accident was not given in the contemporary press, but the steamer was raised and repaired, and within four days of her foundering, she was again advertised for Sacramento.⁸⁷

In the spring of 1854, the California Steam Navigation Company was formed, a combination of the various steamboat lines operating between San Francisco and Sacramento, Stockton and Marysville, as well as on the "feeder" services in the interior to Red Bluff, Colusa and Knight's Landing.⁸⁸ With the end of competition on the rivers, the deficiencies of the *Senator* for

inland service evidently caused her to be laid up at Washington, opposite Sacramento, for a large part of the time after June of 1854.³⁹ Finally it was decided to try her in the service for which she was built—the coastwise trade, and it was announced on October 5, 1855, that “the staunch steamer *Senator*” would sail at 2 o’clock on the afternoon of the next day for Santa Barbara and San Pedro.⁴⁰

The first trips on this route proved successful, and in November of 1855, the *Senator* was taken off the run for one trip for alterations at Mare Island which would fit her for permanent service on the coast. When she reappeared at the end of the month, she had not only been extensively repaired, but also had been fitted with “masts and sails which renders her one of the best steamers on our coast.”⁴¹

When Richard Henry Dana Jr., author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, visited California for a second time in the summer of 1859, he made a round trip from San Francisco to San Diego in the *Senator*, touching at Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Diego and San Luis Obispo.⁴²

The California Steam Navigation Company continued to run the *Senator* on the San Diego route until July of 1860, when she was sold, together with the *Brother Jonathan*, to Samuel J. Hensley, who had formerly acted as agent for the California Steam Navigation Company. The price paid for the two steamers was reported to be \$200,000, and contemporary newspaper comment was that it was a favorable sale for the California Steam Navigation Company, since it permitted it to concentrate on the river traffic.⁴³ The *Senator* reached San Francisco on July 26, 1860, on her last voyage for the old owners, 63 hours out from San Diego with a passenger list of 52.⁴⁴ The sale was announced five days later, and she sailed on the morning of August 3 for Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, San Pedro and San Diego under the new house flag.⁴⁵

By 1863, the *Senator* was being operated by the Oregon, Victoria and San Diego Steamship Line, sometimes known as the Oregon and San Diego Steamship Line, of which S. J. Hensley was proprietor.⁴⁶ On March 12 of that year, she left San Francisco at 9 o’clock in the morning, on her usual run to San Diego. She was at San Luis Obispo at 6 A. M. the next day, and sailed for Santa Barbara two hours later, where she arrived at 6:30 that evening. Sailing for San Pedro at 9:30 P. M., the steamer was due early the following morning. There was a dense fog, and as Captain Seeley was feeling his way past Point Fermin to an anchorage, the ship struck a sunken rock on the port side, and immediately began to fill. Captain Seeley steered the steamer in order to beach her on Dead Man’s Island, but the fog made it impossible for him to see his objective, and the *Senator* took the ground inside the island, and about a third of the way between it and Tomlinson’s Wharf. She had already fired her gun to announce her arrival, so that the tug *Ada Hancock* and lighters were on their way out to take off her passengers and freight. The

passengers were landed in safety, and with the aid of some soldiers aboard, the cargo, consisting of about two hundred tons of merchandise, was on shore within three or four hours, little damaged. The ship was found to be lying on good bottom in about seven feet of water at low tide. Efforts were now made to ascertain the extent of the damage and to float the steamer again. Captain Seeley telegraphed Hensley immediately, telling him of the accident, and asking him to send the steamer *Pacific* down to San Pedro with two steam pumps.⁴⁷ On Saturday and Sunday (March 14 and 15), vain efforts were made to pass a chain under the bottom, but on Monday a piece of the false keel floated up alongside giving a chance to get the chain under. With this accomplished, the foresail and topsail were drawn over the hole in the bottom, and with the aid of ropes and a box pump which had been made on the beach, the *Senator* was hauled into shallower water. Though the ship was now 300 yards nearer shore, her men were exhausted, and Captain Bowie, U. S. A., at New San Pedro, was called upon for aid. He sent forty men under Captain French, and with the help of the donkey engine, which was now in working order, the *Senator* was floated and hauled farther on to the beach at high tide. Here the leak was stopped with planking and batting from the inside, and at 9 o'clock on the evening of March 18 steam was raised and the steamer backed off at high water. The sails and ropes were taken from the outside, and the vessel was found to be sound, though the steam pump which arrived two days later on the *Pacific* was taken aboard as a precaution. Proceeding northward under her own power, the *Senator* reached San Francisco on Sunday afternoon, March 22, 39½ hours from San Pedro.⁴⁸ The conduct of Captain Seeley was highly praised by those who were on board the ship,⁴⁹ and he sailed again in command of the *Senator* on April 12, 1863, after she had undergone more complete repairs at Mare Island.⁵⁰

In 1865, though the *Senator* was still operated by the Oregon and San Diego Steamship Line, the control of the concern had reverted to the California Steam Navigation Company.⁵¹ On one occasion during the early months of that year, the regular routine of her voyages to San Diego was broken by a trip to Santa Cruz Island, whence she brought a cargo of sheep to San Francisco.⁵² The *Senator* made runs only occasionally after April of 1865, to Santa Barbara, San Pedro, Anaheim Landing and San Diego, and was laid up throughout 1866.⁵³

Though there were many ships on the Pacific Coast which were much younger than the *Senator*, she had nearly twenty years of service ahead of her when she was bought in the spring of 1867 by Holladay and Brenham to run on their California, Oregon and Mexico Steamship Company. She sailed on her first voyage for the new owners on April 27, 1867, bound for Santa Cruz and Monterey.⁵⁴

After five years under the operation of Holladay and Brenham, the threat of competition on the southern coast route from the large, iron, screw steam-

ers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company,⁵⁵ caused the sale of the ships of the former company to the Pacific Mail. Included in the transaction were two steamers named *California*, the *Orizaba*, *Pacific* and *Senator*.⁵⁶ The latter ship made her final voyage for Holladay and Brenham to Monterey, San Simeon and San Luis Obispo in September, 1872,⁵⁷ and sailed first for the Pacific Mail in November of the same year.⁵⁸ The Pacific Mail Steamship Company placed the *Senator* on what was known as the San Diego Branch, together with the *Orizaba*, *California* and *Pacific*. These vessels sailed from San Francisco for San Diego three times each month, calling at Santa Barbara, San Pedro and Anaheim Landing, and twice each month for the same destination calling at Monterey, San Simeon and San Luis Obispo in addition to the ports visited on the other voyages.⁵⁹

The early part of January, 1875, brought the announcement that the Pacific Mail had disposed of its coastwise steamers plying between San Francisco and San Diego to interests representing Goodall, Nelson and Perkins. The ships sold were the *Senator*, *Orizaba*, *California*, *Mohongo*, *Gipsy* and *Pacific*, and the price paid for the six vessels was reported to be \$400,000.⁶⁰ The *Senator* sailed on her first voyage for the new owners on January 16, 1875, going only as far as Anaheim Landing, calling at Santa Barbara and San Pedro, and at San Luis Obispo and San Buenaventura for passengers only.⁶¹ For the next six years, the *Senator* continued in this service, but in 1882, the thirty-third year of her service in California, she made her last voyage in steam. Sailing for San Buenaventura on March 2 of that year, she called at Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Simeon, Cayucas, Gaviota and Santa Barbara.⁶² She returned to San Francisco on March 5,⁶³ and was laid up, only to have her engines removed in June of the same year, preparatory to turning her into a barge.⁶⁴

With the first days of 1884, the announcement was made that the hull of the *Senator* was to go into dry dock, to be turned into a temporary barkentine for the long voyage across the Pacific to New Zealand, where she was to become a coal barge.⁶⁵ The purchaser was reported to be an Auckland firm, and the preparations for the voyage were completed toward the end of March, 1884. Her final appearance in the press of San Francisco was as follows:

"Sailed, Mar. 26. Br bark Senator, Lord, Auckland."⁶⁶ Thus departed through the Golden Gate for the last time the ship which was "always mentioned as the 'old Senator', not with any reference to her age, but as a term of endearment, in remembrance of the personal comfort to which she so essentially contributed in the days when Californians dwelt in tents."⁶⁷

NOTES

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3. Samuel Colville, *Colville's San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October 1856* . . . (San Francisco, 1856), p. 197. Hereafter cited as Colville, *Directory*. The writer is deeply indebted to Mr. Elwin M. Eldredge for much information regarding the career of the *Senator* on the Atlantic Seaboard, as well as for important illustrative material. New York *Herald*, Feb. 1, 1849.
4. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* . . . (New York, 1850), II, 47. Hereafter cited as Taylor, *Eldorado*.
5. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Feb. 4, 1853.
6. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1875.
7. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Jan. 27, 1884.
8. Colville, *Directory*, p. 197.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
10. New York *Herald*, Feb. 1, 1849; Feb. 27, 1849.
11. Paolo Sioli (comp.), *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County, California* . . . (Oakland, 1883), p. 174. Hereafter cited as Sioli, *El Dorado County*.
12. New York *Herald*, March 11, 1849; March 12, 1849.
13. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1849.
14. *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1849; Oct. 14, 1849. Contemporary clippings in the Society's collection from Boston and New York papers, under dates of March 23 and April 19, 1849, state that the *Senator* carried from New York, 80 passengers in addition to her officers and crew of 20. Unfortunately the collector in making his scrapbook did not include the names of the papers in which the items appeared.
15. Sioli, *El Dorado County*, p. 174.
16. San Francisco *Alta California*, Nov. 1, 1849.
17. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth* (San Francisco, 1891), V, 196-97.
18. San Francisco *Alta California*, Nov. 22, 1849.
19. *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1849.
20. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 31, 1850.
21. Sioli, *El Dorado County*, p. 174.
22. Colville, *Directory*, p. 197. Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *History of California* (New York, 1912), III, 321.
23. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, June 18, 1850.
24. *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1853.
25. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1854.
26. Colville, *Directory*, p. 197.
27. Sioli, *El Dorado County*, pp. 174-75.
28. Thomas W. Knox, *The Life of Robert Fulton and a History of Steam Navigation* (New York and London, 1887), p. 246.
29. Taylor, *Eldorado*, II, 46-47.
30. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1853.
31. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1853.
32. Sioli, *El Dorado County*, pp. 174-75.
33. Taylor, *Eldorado*, II, 47-48.
34. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Feb. 15, 1850; Feb. 13, 1853.
35. Sioli, *El Dorado County*, p. 175.
36. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, May 15, 1850.
37. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1855; May 19, 1855.
38. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, March 1, 1854.

39. *Ibid.*, *passim*, 1854-55.
40. *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1855.
41. *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1855; Nov. 29, 1855.
42. Richard Henry Dana Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (Boston and New York, 1911), pp. 472-83.
43. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, July 31, 1860.
44. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1860.
45. *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1860.
46. Henry G. Langley (comp.), *San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1863* . . . (San Francisco, 1863), p. 183.
47. Seeley to Hensley, *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 19, 1863.
48. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, March 23, 1863.
49. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1863.
50. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1863; April 13, 1863.
51. Henry G. Langley (comp.), *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1864* . . . (San Francisco, 1864).
52. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, Feb. 27, 1865.
53. *Ibid.*, *passim*, 1865-66.
54. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1867.
55. *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1872.
56. *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1872.
57. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1872.
58. *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1872.
59. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1872.
60. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1875; Jan. 8, 1875.
61. *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1875.
62. San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 2, 1882.
63. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1882.
64. *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, June 5, 1882.
65. *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1884.
66. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, March 27, 1884.
67. Colville, *Directory*, p. 197.



LAFAYETTE MAYNARD

From a photograph, taken in 1876, presented to the Society by Mrs. Rebecca Chambers

TWO LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE MAYNARD

And an Excerpt from William Heath Davis

Relative to the Steamer "Senator"

LAFAYETTE MAYNARD TO DUFF GREEN*

New York, December 20, 1848.

My dear Father in Law

Doherty & Lowman left here for Washington three or four days since. The Panama Rail Road Carried them on.

Your advice is good, and I shall not loose sight of it, I have some faint idea of the Sharpness of the Community I am in. And I use my Eyes and Ears before my mouth.

My first project involved many ramifications, much responsibility and anxiety of mind. I have therefore Concluded that the best thing I can do is to devote my whole Energies to a Stm Bt in the Sacramento. This is all plain sailing and in my line.

There is a splendid steamer in Boston fitted out and built for running from Boston to Halifax, in the most costly and luxurious style. The owner will retain one quarter or one half, if I will sell one quarter for cash, take the other quarter myself, securing him by taking out a policy of insurance and assigning it over to him and giving him a mortgage on the vessel. I now own one fourth, then I get a per centage on all the profits accruing—out of this I pay for my proportion. This is understood, and more, That if it falls through I can never pay them unless I fall into a fortune in my own right. but if I get around the Horn safe, there Can be no doubt of it.

The other quarter I Can get taken up. Mr. Ludlaw, an old and intimate friend from Richmond, but now a large merchant of this City goes with me tomorrow to Boston to see this Boat. He wishes to take a share of her. My plan is to take such a boat as will beat down all Competition, for if others are sent out, they will be small, contracted propellers; I give them *Velvet lounges* to sit on. Now with their pockets full of gold dust, the value of which they do not, and Cannot appreciate, will they hesitate a moment as to which vessel they will Come on board of, I think not. If I get round safe, my fortune is made

I have felt it my duty to write to Judge Mason and thank him for all his Kindness to me throughout his administration of the Dept.

If the mail is to be taken up to the gold region (for there will be no people in San Francisco) I should like to have the Contract, not for the money, for

*From the original in the possession of Mrs. Rebecca Chambers.

that would not *pay*, but it will give my vessel more of a national Character and Enable me to Count my Services [?] so that when I again return home I could feel that I had a Claim to rest awhile from my labours. Would it not be advisable to broach this subject to the Judge. If the power to make this Contract is given to someone out there, then I could take letters of introduction to them. I should like for the Judge to understand that I have disconnected myself from all other schemes but that which is strictly in the line of my profession. In the Command of a StmBt I am preparing myself in an important branch of my profession, now little understood in the navy, hence I maintain that my Services are not altogether lost to the Country. I wish a leave of absence for 12 months so that I can leave it behind to support my family. When that Expires I propose getting a furlough for *two years*, for I will not stay there longer than 3 years altogether. by that time I shall have paid my quota, and realized something besides, and can then return home yet preserving my interest in the Boat. I do not wish the leave until I am ready to start. When I can come back in a position to take my wife and children out of a boarding house, and put them in one of their own, place my Father now bent double with age in a position where he shall no longer toil for his bread, take care of and Educate my Brothers Orphan children, then I can sit down in peace and be happy with the [best] of wives. until then, there is no rest for me. You now have the secret spring to all my actions. My project is good in itself, and based on a good cause, why should I not succeed?

In talking with these people, I have said to them—"The letters of introduction I present to you are simply to bring us together to Confer. If you like my proposition then it is time enough to satisfy you who and what I am.["]

That time has arrived, and I wish a few letters from such men as Com. Morris. A few would be as good as a hundred, but they should be to the point, and from those who Know enough of me to speak with Confidence of my integrity, energy, and capacity, points on which a stranger would necessarily wish to be informed. I could have desired no stronger letters than Judge Masons to Law and Aspinwall. I wish that I had them to make use of in Boston.

Everyone who has any project on hand in connection with California, immediately go to Aspinwall to get them concerned; hence I am Kept advised of every movement in this direction and am enabled to act with my eyes open. he is pledged to me not go into any Sacramento Steamers, and he discourages all who call on him, by telling them that others are before them, that the great difficulty is Coal. in this way he gives me great assistance. If you can find out who are the opponents of his bill, what influences are at work, and how you can best meet and overcome these obstacles, it would evince a desire to help him which he would appreciate.

I am afraid that I shall not see you before you go. I am compelled to go to Boston first, but if I can possibly get on by Monday I will do so. I should like much to see you

I agree with you that Grays Tent poles are not worth a cent. the screw part is the objection. Have I a right to make use of a tent such as you describe? I wish an answer.

Your Affec SoninLaw

L MAYNARD

LAFAYETTE MAYNARD TO DUFF GREEN*

San Francisco, November 15, 1849

My dear Father in Law

You will no doubt, have heard of my movements from time to time thro Molly. By the last steamer I received your letter from her wherein she tells me of your visit to New York and of dear Conny's death,¹ a dearer and purer creature could scarce have gone to heaven. I felt quite sad to hear that you had had a general breaking up at Washington. Molly tells me that my baby's² nose is something like old Mr. Green's, of Rapp. [Rappahannock.] I have directed her to cut it off at once if true, or else send him where the cholera is raging.

The *Senator* is at last here and has made three trips up the river to Sacramento City. I acted as Pilot, and her advent created a greater sensation than even the discovery of gold. There were not over 20 persons in the country who believed that she would succeed in going up the river, both on account of the water on the bar and a very narrow point in one of the "sloughs" which vessels take in consequence of the greater depth of water. I stood almost alone in the opinion to the contrary. I had too great an interest at stake not to have posted myself well up in the matter, and when she arrived, a gentleman here who is part owner of an old worn out propeller called the "*McKim*," wrote up to his partner at Sacramento City, to this effect—"The *Senator* is here, 219 feet long! Draws 8 feet 7 inches light! Can neither cross the bar or turn in the slough. All right! Give yourself no uneasiness!" He did not know that I had been paddling about the river here for four months and had discovered a private channel of my own, and when they saw us booming up under a full head of steam, crossing the bar at dead low water without stopping, doubling the bends in the "slough" like nothing, their surprise could only be equaled by their grief. The *Senator* will make in the next 12 months \$1,000,000, nor let this startle you for I assure you that in the three trips that she has made she has averaged double that sum. On neither

*From the original, in the possession of Mr. Albert A. Rosenshine.

1. Sarah Constance Green, daughter of Duff Green and Lucretia Edwards; aet. 16.

2. Benjamin Green Maynard, died S. F., Nov. 1918, aet. 70.

occasion was she advertised. Nor did she take up any freight, which pays in sailing vessels \$50 pr. ton. And the *Senator* can easily take up 300 tons and at an advanced price if we chose to charge it, for sailing vessels are two and three weeks going up. The *Senator* runs up in ten hours and down in 8½. I write these facts to show you how important it is to me to do nothing which may ever raise a question about my title. Now Mr. Whiting writes me that he intended to notify Minturn (agt. at New York) that out of the first moneys received from the *Senator*, a sufficient sum must be retained out of Cunningham's portion to pay the amo. of premium on insurance of my ¼ which he (Cunningham) could charge against me. Now this was neither understood or expressed in the contract. Mr. Whiting's object is clearly to save me the loss of the premium in case any disaster should occur; besides, he intends to notify Cunningham to *renew the insurance himself*. This probably I have a right to do, according to the contract, but I deem it *imprudent*, and have written to Whiting to ask him to renew it himself and assign the policies over, stating to him that I have made money out here and am fully competent to meet the payments when they fall due. But in case he fails doing so let me beg of you to see him if *possible* and have it done. So there may be no ground whatever for cavil on C's part, for I assure you that my one fourth of that boat is good for \$200,000 in 12 months. They require at the insurance offices at New York endorsers or bondsmen residing in the city. I could give my own personal bond from here, and have it endorsed by men here worth millions, but it would do no good in New York. Now the *Senator* arrived here on the 27th of October, and it could not reasonably be expected that I should or *could* renew the insurance until I knew of her arrival here, and more particularly until we had tried her up the river and found out whether or not she was capable of running up the Sacramento, or whether it was necessary to put her on the line to Panama, for the insurance offices always mention in the policies where the vessel is to run. She has now made three trips up the river to Sacramento City, and it is for the inland navigation that she is to be insured, and if her insurance is made to commence from the day of her arrival and assigned over to Cunningham, the contract is fulfilled to the letter and in the spirit. The navigation of the bay and river is as safe as any river in our country and if a boat runs on shore, it is all soft mud and sand and does no damage. In a few words, I apprehend that Whiting has made the demand he spoke of. Cunningham will have refused it and probably have charged me with a forfeiture of my interests and gone to law on the subject. If so I beg that you will attend to it for me in *person*. Have the insurance renewed from the day of her arrival (the 27 Oct.), assign it over to C. and that fulfills the contracts and quashes any difficulties that may have ensued, for the delay in so doing, her non-arrival here before and the uncertainty about the line she was to be put upon. As I have stated to Whiting, I shall have ample means, independent of the *Senator*

to pay the premium when it falls due, for I have made a very respectable *pile* in town lots and piloting. It is all invested or I would send the money on to do this. I shall make at least \$35,000 on lots that I bought of Sutter at very low prices. I purchased of Sutter's agent 25 lots about 6 weeks since for \$12,500, payable in six months and was offered three days ago \$26,000 for 8 of them! California is a *great country*.

Now if you love me and Molly and all the *little* Maynards you will even go from Georgia to New York to attend to this for me, for you have a knack of throwing in "soap" when argument fails which brings the enemy to terms. I want my $\frac{1}{4}$ insured for an amount sufficient to cover both premium and purchase money. And if you see Cunningham say to him that if he will send the bill of sale to Minturn or to any other person in whom he may have confidence here that I will at once pay what balance there may be still due on my one fourth interest. But I must be notified when and to whom it is sent. I am anxious to have the bill of sale in my possession. Bache tells me that Minturn is a villain and I am afraid that it is true from certain transactions of his here in relation to the boat. Having no authority from the owners to interfere, I am powerless and can do nothing. A friend and lawyer tells me that if I can produce my bill of sale for my one fourth and can prove that he is acting prejudicially to the interests of the boat, that I can if necessary assert my rights and have him removed. No matter what I see I should not think of communicating it to any of the parties in N. York for they are all pretty much the same breed of dogs and would no doubt attribute it to personal feelings on my part, in consequence of this difficulty with Bache. Besides I must make no charges until I can so fully prove them as to convince his own brother of their truth. All that I have to do now is to keep my eyes open and about me.

My object is to remain here 12 months, sell out what property I may have in the country and return home to take care of those most dear to me. I send you the papers of today, containing the election returns from the city. Judge Burnett, formerly of Missouri, will undoubtedly be the governor. Fremont and Gwin (Ex M. C.) will I think go to the Senate. Butler King can't shine. There are some 12 or 15 candidates for the lower house in Congress and it is impossible to say who will be elected.

The rainy season has set in and miners are coming down from the mines in November. About 30,000 I think will winter in the dry diggins.

The prices of everything are rising. Flour is selling here today at \$45 pr. barrel and everything else in proportion.

Give my best love to Mrs. Green and Eliza if they are with you and don't forget my interests.

Your Affec. Son in Law

L. MAYNARD.

A QUARTETTE TRIES TO BUY THE "SENATOR"*

Mr. Lafayette Maynard was the owner of a part of a block of real estate, bounded by Sacramento, Sansome and California streets, which bore his name. He had been a lieutenant in the United States navy, and was familiar with the art of surveying harbors and rivers. He took Wilkes' survey of the Sacramento river, and examined it critically for an object. He went to capitalists in New York, explained and demonstrated to them that it was practicable and feasible for a deep sea steamer of 600 or 800 tons measurement to navigate the river to Sacramento city. The steamer "Senator" was purchased by a syndicate, for the purpose suggested by Maynard, and he was included in the company. At the time of the transaction, she was a packet out of New York, running on the Sound. She departed immediately for San Francisco through the Straits of Magellan, and arrived here early in September, 1849. Samuel Brannan, W. D. M. Howard, (and, I think), Bezar Simmons, and myself, made up the party of four who boarded her soon after she dropped anchor. Mr. Brannan, who was the originator of the project, was selected by us as our spokesman. He soon made known the object of our visit, and offered the captain or agent of the steamer the large sum of \$250,000, in gold dust, at sixteen dollars per ounce, for her sale to us. This offer was rejected with smiles, by those representing the steamer. Mr. Brannan again asked them what would they take for the vessel. The answer came that she was not for sale. So ended our trip to the most historic vessel of the days of forty-nine.

It was often remarked that the "Senator" had carried enough gold from Sacramento to San Francisco to sink her two or three times over with the weight of the precious metal. Add to this the passage and freight money, the former two ounces for the trip, and the latter from forty dollars to eighty dollars per ton, and the amount received was enormous. It would probably take two or three similar steamers to convey the freighted gold, and the gold and silver coin she had earned for her owners during the height of our gold production.

The "Old Senator," by which name she was familiarly known, is now moored in the waters of Australia, as a coal vessel. Had she possessed intelligence, she might have been too proud of her nationality, and for her deeds of the past in the accumulation of wealth to the country of her birth, to become a naturalized subject of a British colony, by the change of flags.

*From *Seventy-five Years in California*, by William Heath Davis, San Francisco: John Howell, 1929, p. 313.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON LAFAYETTE MAYNARD*

1818-1876

LAFAYETTE MAYNARD was born in Richmond, Virginia, and was the eldest of three sons. At the early age of sixteen [fifteen] he left his home, determined to strike out for himself and carve his own name on the scroll of history. This determination never forsook him in the early years of his life, and as the sequel proves, his ambition was gratified. Young Maynard struck out, with a knapsack containing all his earthly possessions strapped upon his back, for Washington. He wanted to be a Midshipman. In those days, the position was obtained by application to the Secretary of the Navy, and by influence. Too often the latter governed. He was refused his request. Discouraged, disappointed and almost disheartened, he turned his steps toward home. After walking some fifteen miles he returned to the Capital, and as a last resort, sought an interview with General Jackson, then President. Nor did he seek in vain. That stern but great-hearted patriot listened to the youngster's manly tale, and then promised him the first vacancy that should occur; and he kept his word: Lafayette Maynard was duly appointed Midshipman in the New York Navy Yard. This was in 1833-34. The Lieutenant's bars and anchor came in due course of time.

The next incident in the career of Lieutenant Maynard was one which brought his name into prominence wherever a newspaper could reach. It was no less than the saving of twenty or thirty lives at the imminent risk of his own many times over. He was a passenger on the steamer *Atlantic*, which plied between New York and Boston. On November 26th, 1846, a severe gale was encountered in Long Island Sound, and the steamer was driven on the rocks off Fisher's Island. Before she struck, Lieutenant Maynard, assisted by two other naval officers who happened to be on board, busied himself in lashing the women and children to hastily improvised floats. After the calamity the brave young hero remained in the water for two long hours, in the dreary, freezing storm, until every person floating had been dragged ashore. His heroic conduct on this occasion was commented upon editorially and otherwise by all the leading journals of the country, and the Common Council of his native city (Richmond) presented him with a handsome sword and belt as a token of their admiration and esteem. The congregation of the United Presbyterian Church of Richmond, whose once pastor was lost on the *Atlantic*, also presented Lieut. Maynard with a Bible. The original letter of presentation is still in the possession of the family.

*From the San Francisco *Alta California* of December 30, 1876. Mr. Maynard died on December 29, 1876.

During the Mexican War Lieut. Maynard again distinguished himself. He devised a plan for the scaling of the walls of the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, and the Government gave him permission to carry it out, besides furnishing him with authority to purchase the necessary arms, and providing the men. Owing to unnecessary delay on the part of the Government, he arrived only in time to see the surrender of the Castle and city. He is next heard of in June, '47, at the taking of Tabasco. He had command of the pioneers and scouts, and was always found at the head of his column. He took a prominent part in several other battles.

In 1849, Lieut. Maynard came to California, on a furlough. He was one of the original owners of the old steamer *Senator*. In 1852, he was ordered to the steamer *St. Mary's*, then on her way to Japan, as Flag Lieutenant; but at this time he had become so thoroughly identified with the interests of San Francisco (then in its infancy), that he chose to resign his position. About this time the block of buildings on California Street, which bears his name, was erected by him. Subsequently, Mr. Maynard turned his attention to mining enterprises. He was one of the original owners of Meadow Valley, and acted as its President until it passed into the hands of the present controlling power. He was also a large owner of the Oceanic Quicksilver Mining Company.

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF
SAN FRANCISCO*

AUGUST 13, 1855, TO OCTOBER 7, 1855

August 13. The Supreme Court decided that State Courts, other than District, had not the right to naturalize; also that judges and inspectors of elections cannot compel a voter to show his papers of naturalization. A Know Nothing Convention, composed of delegates from the First, Second, Third, and Fifth wards, met and nominated Lorenzo Sawyer, Esq., for Judge of the Fourth District Court. A fire broke out in a building on Sansome Street, near California, but was speedily extinguished. Sheriff Phoenix, of Amador County, was killed at Salvador, near Sonora, while endeavoring to arrest a number of Mexicans believed to have been engaged in the Rancheria tragedy. Three of the Mexicans were killed, a number of their houses burned, and two or three Americans were wounded.

August 14. A sailor named Pete Williams was stabbed, during a drunken affray in a saloon on Pacific Street, by a man named John McCarney. A Chilean, one of the three men who robbed Langton's Express when on the road between Downieville and Forest City two weeks ago, was arrested by Captain McKenzie. An elegant watch and seal, valued at \$800, was presented to City Marshal North by his friends.

August 16. A fire broke out in a flour and grain store, south side of Clay Street, between Front and Davis, partially destroying that and the two adjoining buildings. The Know Nothing Convention nominated for Sheriff, T. P. Johnson; Recorder, F. F. Fargo; County Clerk, E. W. Taylor; Treasurer, Alexander G. Abell; Assessor, J. B. Brown; Coroner, Dr. Parker.

August 17. The corner stone of a new engine house for Vigilant Fire Company, No. 9, was laid on Stockton Street. B. F. Washington, late editor of the *Times and Transcript*, being about to return home, was presented by his friends with a large and beautifully chased gold chronometer, and massive chain, seal and key, ornamented with diamonds, together with a gold- and quartz-headed manzanita cane. The presentation was made by Calhoun Benham, Esq. Neat and appropriate speeches were made on both sides. The steamers *Antelope* and *Surprise*, while on their way to Sacramento, collided, neither, however, receiving material injury.

August 18. A number of gentlemen assembled privately for the purpose of reorganizing the Whig Party of the State. Gregory Yale, Esq., presided, and speeches were made by Calhoun Benham and others, espousing the Whig cause. The P. M. steamship *Golden Gate* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the amount of \$1,210,108.18; and the Nicaragua steamship *Uncle Sam*, for San Juan, with treasure to the value of \$1,023,602.49.

August 19. In addition to the officers already mentioned, the Know Nothings nominated for District Attorney, George J. Whelan; County Surveyor, A. M. Thompson; Senators, Louis R. Lull and H. S. Brown; Assemblymen, G. F. Swasey, Dr. J. Van Zandt, C. K. Sanders, D. D. Kingsbury, H. C. Clarkson, G. D. Street, Fox, Call, and Holbrook; for City School Superintendent, F. E. Prevaux. The British sloop of war *Dido* arrived from Vancouver's Island. The first trip of the Pioneer locomotive was made on the Sacramento Valley Railroad. Quite a celebration and pleasure excursion distinguished the event. The train consisted of a locomotive and three platform cars,

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" is adapted from the "Monthly Summary of Events" in the *Pioneer*, Vol. IV, and from the *Alta California* of October 3-7, 1855.

which were densely crowded with people. When they reached the end of the rails at 17th Street, Hon. M. S. Latham, being called on, made a happy and appropriate speech.

August 20. The claim of Doña Carmen Bernal, in right of her deceased husband, for the Rincon de las Salinas y Potrero Viejo was confirmed by the U. S. District Court. Peter B. Manchester, a practising lawyer of this city, was arrested under a requisition from the Governor of Ohio. The complaint charged him with forgery and other dishonest practises while doing business as a banker in Cincinnati. He was placed under bonds in the sum of \$3,000, for one week, to allow the Ohio police officer time to obtain the necessary authority from the Governor to enable him to take his prisoner back to Ohio.

August 21. In the case of the People *vs.* Joseph R. Trench and others, charged with a violation of the statute against noisy and barbarous amusements in having opened a theater on the Christian Sabbath, which was tried before the Court of Sessions, the indictment was set aside on the ground of indefiniteness in stating the day when the offence was committed. The British frigate *Amphitrite*, C. Fredericks, Esq., commanding, arrived from Ayan and Sitka, Russian possessions. The Democrats held a primary election of delegates for the convention to nominate county officers, and senators and assemblymen. Daniel Harrington, James P. Casey, Henry Derrick, James Hennessy, and John Lynch were arrested for being engaged in a riot on the corner of Pine and Kearny streets. Several pistols were fired, and Robert Cushing and J. W. Bagley, also engaged in the fracas, were severely wounded. José Lafuente, formerly connected with the Spanish paper, *La Cronica*, was arrested on the charge of stabbing a woman named Maria Martinez. Also, a man named John Farley was severely wounded in the abdomen with a bowie knife by a man named John Ricketts.

August 22. José Lafuente, who stabbed Maria Martinez, having waived an examination, was sent to the county jail. The Temperance Mass Convention in Sacramento nominated Charles H. S. Williams, Esq., for the judgeship of the Supreme Court, long term. Judge Barbour, of the Eleventh District Court, decided that District Courts have no jurisdiction in cases of insolvency. James P. Casey was admitted to bail in the sum of \$10,000. Hennessy, who was also engaged in the election affray, was also released on bail.

August 23. The schooner *Matthew Vassar* arrived, having on board an American tiger which was caught on the Columbia River, Oregon. It was seven and a half feet long, three and a half feet high, and weighed about five hundred pounds. The Sisters of Charity acknowledged the receipt of \$400 from Messrs. Lee & Marshall, of the National Circus. The People's Party (settlers), in convention at Sacramento, nominated Annis Merrill, Esq., U. S. Representative of the southern district, and John H. McKune, Esq., of the northern. A State Central Committee was also chosen. The convention passed a series of resolutions in favor of temperance, moral reform, settlers' rights, and a prohibitory liquor law.

August 25. James P. Casey was acquitted of all blame on account of his participation in the election affray, and was discharged. The Democratic County Convention met and nominated Thomas Hayes for County Clerk and David Scannell for Sheriff. The Democratic Legislative Convention met and nominated Frank Tifford and W. J. Shaw for State Senators; Lyman Ackley, James George, and Thomas Grey for Assemblymen. The Whig County Convention met and appointed a committee to make nominations.

August 26. The U. S. steamer *Massachusetts* sailed for the Mexican coast, with the intention, it was believed, of inquiring into the late injuries inflicted by Mexican authorities on the persons and property of American citizens.

August 27. A murderous affray occurred at a dance house on Pacific Street, known

as Dutch Charley's, in which a man named William French was dangerously wounded by an Italian; the latter was taken into custody. The Whig County Nominating Convention nominated for Sheriff, A. J. Ellis; for County Recorder, R. M. Jessup; for Clerk, John M. Lent; for Treasurer, W. Turnbull; for Assessor, C. O. Gerberding; District Attorney, C. G. Fenner; Fourth District Judge, E. W. F. Sloan; Senators, Edward Stanly and E. D. Baker. The Democratic County Convention nominated F. H. Kohler for County Recorder, R. E. Woods for Treasurer, and J. H. Kent for Coroner. The Democratic Legislative Convention nominated as members of Assembly, S. A. Sharp, C. W. Moulthrop, B. S. Lippincott, H. Hawes, Herman Wohler, John Ewalt, and Nathaniel Holland. The Sons of Temperance met in their hall on Washington Street to ratify the action of the People's Convention, held on August 22 and 23 at Sacramento.

August 29. A Whig mass meeting was held in the Polka Saloon, which was addressed by Edward Stanly, Esq., and Colonel E. D. Baker. The Democrats, dissatisfied with the action of the Democratic Convention, met in the office of the Nicaragua Steamship Company, and after ratifying the nominations of David Scannell for Sheriff, and Thomas Hayes for County Clerk, nominated William L. Higgins for County Recorder, William F. Sherman for Treasurer, and John T. Wallace for Coroner. The Whig Nominating Convention completed their ticket by nominating candidates for justices of the different townships and candidates for the Board of Education. In the presence of a large crowd of spectators, Madam Austin, of the National Circus and Hippodrome, accomplished the feat of ascending upon a tight rope from the circus tent to the windows of the International Hotel. The longshoremen struck for higher wages, and created a great disturbance on the wharves, which was finally quieted by the City Marshal's arresting three of the ringleaders. The object of the strike was to increase the rate of wages from five to six dollars per day. A number of vagrant boys, who were in the habit of gaining a subsistence by pilfering samples and small articles displayed in front of stores, were discovered concealed in empty dry goods boxes and arrested by a policeman on duty on the corner of Sacramento and Sansome streets. Two men named William Smith and William Brown were arrested on suspicion of having robbed a poor handcart man of \$800, the hard earned savings of a number of years.

August 30. Sarah O. Beckett sued an injunction out of the Twelfth District Court restraining the sale of the estate of James Beckett, as ordered by the Probate Court, on the ground that she was the wife of the said Beckett and that previous to his death he had adopted as his son and heir a lad about four years of age, and that, therefore, the estate was not a matter for public administration. Three clipper ships, the *Starlight*, *Kit Carson*, and *Meteor*, arrived from the Eastern States, the latter having made the passage in 108 days. The Democratic County Convention nominated J. J. Gardiner for County Surveyor; justices of the peace for different townships; and for Trustees of the Board of Education, Caleb Hyatt, F. C. Ewer, and Philip A. Roach.

August 31. The notorious den known as Dutch Charley's was broken up by the police, and the proprietor taken into custody. The clipper schooner *Forward* arrived, thirty-four days from Tahiti, bringing a cargo of 150,000 oranges.

September 1. A Ladies' Fair was held at Musical Hall for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum. A mass meeting of the American Party was held in front of the American Theater. It was addressed by William H. Rhodes, Esq., Bailie Peyton, Esq., Wilson P. Flint, and Frank M. Pixley. Hon. H. C. Murray was unanimously nominated, by the committee appointed by the temperance portion of the Moral Reform Convention, for Judge of the Supreme Court, short term, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of C. H. S. Williams, and Myron Norton, for the long term. The Pacific Mail steamship *John L. Stephens* arrived, fifteen days from Panama, bringing news of the rumored abdication and flight from the country of Santa Anna. Also, of the appoint-

ment of Hon. John L. Dowson, of Pennsylvania, as Governor of Kansas, in place of Governor Reeder, removed.

September 2. Maurice Lersner, charged with embezzling \$1,200 of the funds of Messrs. Marriott & Wheeler, was arrested by the police. F. J. Lippitt, Esq., was appointed referee, by the Fourth District Court, to report upon the priorities of the creditors of Adams & Co.

September 3. The Board of Examiners for the Funding of the City Debt made its report to the Board of Assistant Aldermen. An immense Democratic mass meeting was held in front of the Montgomery Block. A hundred guns, in honor of the occasion, were fired from Shaw's Wharf. The meeting was called to order and first addressed by its chairman, General J. A. McDougall; afterwards by Hon. M. S. Latham, Frank Tilford, Esq., Messrs. Clary, Ryan, W. B. Cooke, G. G. Barnard, C. L. Brosnan, and M. Stewart, and at a late hour the meeting broke up. Mr. Felix Argenti opened a new banking house, under the name of Argenti, Cavallier & Co. The Report of the Examiners of the City Indebtedness showed that the total amount of the claims against the City was \$2,059,956.95, of which claims to the amount of \$1,737,675.88 were rejected, and only \$322,281.07 admitted as legal and equitable indebtedness of the City under the statute. The store of George Westcott, corner of Battery and Commercial streets, was entered and robbed of \$800, and a young man formerly in the employ of Westcott arrested on suspicion. The Nicaragua steamer *Pacific* arrived, thirteen days from San Juan. She brought news that General Alvarez had taken the cities of Colima and Guadalajara; Generals Cubakos and Monte Negro had taken San Luis Potosi; and General Comonfort was in full march on the City of Mexico.

September 4. The Gulnac claim, to fifty by two hundred varas on the corner of Sacramento and Montgomery streets, was rejected by the U. S. Land Commissioners, on the ground, among others, that it was not embraced in the jurisdiction of the Board. The Whigs had a large mass meeting in the Polka Saloon which was presided over by Benjamin Heywood, Esq., and addressed by Hon. Edward Stanly. A man named Flannigan was stabbed by another named Sullivan, on Commercial Street near Sansome. The latter was taken into custody.

September 5. Election day. J. Neely Johnson was elected Governor of California. The Nicaragua steamship *Sierra Nevada* left for San Juan, carrying treasure to the value of \$1,055,627.44, and the P. M. steamship *Oregon*, with \$955,013.11. The steam-tug *Carolina*, intended for the house of Nye Bros. & Co. of China, made a trial trip, to the satisfaction of all concerned.

September 7. The flourishing town of Weaverville was almost entirely consumed by fire.

September 9. It being Sunday, the celebration of the anniversary of the admission of the State of California into the Union was deferred until the day following.

September 10. The San Francisco Tract Society celebrated their third anniversary. The anniversary of the admission of the State was celebrated as follows: The banking and principal mercantile houses were closed at an early hour. The American colors were displayed from almost every flagstaff and masthead in the city and harbor. At noon, a national salute was fired on the Plaza by the First California Guard; about half an hour later the procession marched through the streets in the following order:—First Light Dragoons, Captain Rowell; Kendall's Brass Band; San Francisco Blues, Lieutenant Scannell; carriage containing the orator and poet of the day; the California Pioneers, in full regalia, bearing the celebrated Bear Flags; next came a remnant of Stevenson's New York Regiment of California Volunteers; Company M, U. S. Artillery, Captain E. D. Keyes; portions of the crews of the revenue cutters *Jefferson Davis* and

W. L. Marcy; next a line of carriages containing British and American army and navy officers; American Brass Band; Marion Rifles, Captain William Neely Johnson; carriages containing officers of the State; National Lancers; California Brass Band; representatives of the several fire companies of San Francisco. The procession extended nearly a mile in length, and finally assembled in the American Theater, where Louis R. Lull, Esq., read a very beautiful ode, composed for the occasion by Mr. Edmond Pillet, and Mr. George Pen Johnston delivered an eloquent and appropriate oration. In conclusion, Mrs. Wills's celebrated ode was sung, and the assembly separated.

September 12. The P. M. steamship *Golden Age* arrived, eleven days from Panama. Among other intelligence, she brought news that the Dillon difficulty had been terminated by an agreement that the first French war vessel entering the harbor should be saluted, instead of the consular flag, and confirmed the rumor of the flight of Santa Anna from Mexico, &c. William Smith, found guilty of robbing a hand-cartman of \$800, was sentenced to a punishment of ten years in the State Prison.

September 13. A Chinaman was arrested for attempting to pass deteriorated gold coin at the banking house of Lucas, Turner & Co. A young man named J. C. Calhoun fell through a hole on Clay Street Wharf and was drowned. The U. S. frigate *Independence*, Captain Josiah Tutnall, arrived, fifty days from Callao. She brought a prisoner named John Gray, a seaman charged with the murder of the mate of the American ship *Levanter* when on the Chilian coast.

September 14. The absconding Cincinnati banker, P. B. Manchester, after having been given into the custody of the Sheriff by the Governor, was brought upon a writ of habeas corpus before Chief Justice Murray, and after a hearing of the same was remanded to the Sheriff, who consigned him to the care of the Ohio police officer, Bruen, by whom he was spirited away to parts unknown. The Nicaragua steamship *Uncle Sam* arrived, twelve days from San Juan. One hundred and six of her passengers had died of the cholera. She brought news of the removal of Colonel Richard P. Hammond from the office of Collector of the Port of San Francisco and the appointment of Milton S. Latham in his place, and of the conquest of San Juan by Colonel Walker and his party. A young woman named Catharine McNevin was found dead in a house on Dupont Street, near Sacramento. She was supposed to have committed suicide, through remorse at her course of life. The flourishing town of Grass Valley was consumed by fire. Three hundred and fifty houses were destroyed, and the loss was estimated at \$400,000. John Hogan, late Marshal of Oakland, who was supposed to have defaulted with about \$13,000 of the funds of that city, arrived in town, and was immediately arrested by Captain Durkee.

September 16. Two persons died of cholera at the County Hospital. The bark *Yankee*, from Honolulu, brought news of the arrival in that place of I. C. Woods and the Backus Minstrels, per bark *Audubon*.

September 18. The steamer *Goliath* arrived, two and a half days from San Diego. It brought news of the discovery of a gold mine near Santa Ynez, in Santa Barbara County, which promised to pay remuneratively. The sloop *Kamchadell* arrived, sixty-three days from the coast of Corea [Korea], having on board Captain Carleton, with the officers and crew of the wrecked brig *William Penn*. This latter vessel had been employed to convey a portion of the officers and crew of the Russian frigate *Diana*, wrecked at Simoda, to Corea, and when near that place she struck a coral reef and was wrecked. Captain Carleton, having succeeded in landing his passengers and crew, was hospitably received by the Russian Admiral Zairaika, and presented by him with the sloop *Kamchadell* to convey himself and crew to this place. The official returns of the late County Election were published. They showed that the County had gone Democratic by a large majority, and the following officers were elected: Messrs. Wil-

liam J. Shaw and Frank Tilford to the State Senate; Messrs. James George, Thomas Gray, Solomon A. Sharp, C. W. Moulthrop, Benjamin S. Lippincott, Horace Hawes, Herman Wohler, John Ewalt, and Nathaniel Holland to the Assembly; David S. Scannell, Sheriff; H. Byrne, District Attorney; R. E. Woods, Treasurer; F. R. Kohler, Recorder; J. W. Stillman, Assessor; J. J. Gardiner, Surveyor; J. H. Kent, Coroner; J. C. Pelton, Superintendent of County Schools. There was found to be a majority of 2,185 votes against the Prohibitory Liquor Law. In the U. S. District Court, the indictment against Julius Levy, for cigar smuggling, was decided by the Court to be void by uncertainty, and the accused was set free—but he was immediately arrested upon a new and amended indictment, and required to give bail in the sum of \$10,000 for his appearance in the U. S. Circuit Court.

September 20. The P. M. steamer *Sonora* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the value of \$1,621,925.39, and the Nicaragua steamer *Cortes*, for San Juan, with treasure to the value of \$501,558.01, and about two hundred recruits for Walker—among whom were George R. Davidson, Esq., late Assistant Alderman of this city, and Thomas Dunlap, Esq., late editor of the Santa Barbara *Gazette*.

September 27. Madame Anna Bishop gave her farewell concert at Musical Hall. She was assisted by the Germania Society, Bochsa, and others, and was listened to by a very large and fashionable audience. Alexis Bryant, convicted of an attempt to blow up the building of Ritter & Company, was sentenced by the Court of Sessions to two years' imprisonment in the State Prison.

September 28. The *Alta California* newspaper was sold under execution by the Sheriff. Mr. W. F. Herrick, the bookkeeper, was the purchaser, at \$11,000.

October 1. An attorney named A. Winants was arrested on a charge of having attempted to bribe Mr. Green, one of the County Supervisors, to vote for the payment of the three per cent. script, on which \$250,000 is nominally due for the Laffan lot on Brenham Place. The accused afterwards attempted to hang himself in the jail.

October 2. The P. M. steamer *Panama* arrived, bringing news of the bombardment and destruction of Seaborg by the Allies. The notorious "Cock-eyed Fury" was recaptured, and again confined in the State Prison. In the Fourth District Court, Henry M. Naglee was appointed receiver of the estate of Adams & Co., in place of A. A. Cohen.

October 3. Winants, accused of an attempt to bribe Supervisor Green, was released on bail in the sum of \$1,000. A fire at Jamestown consumed about twenty-five buildings, mostly stores. The P.M.S.S. *Panama* arrived with 590 passengers. Mr. McKean Buchanan took a benefit at the Union Theatre. At the Metropolitan, Miss Goddard appeared as Imogene in Maturin's celebrated play, *Bertram*.

October 4. Miss Laura Keane took a farewell benefit at the Metropolitan Theater, which was largely attended. Fifty or sixty young men left for Nicaragua to join Colonel Walker.

October 5. General J. W. Denver, Congressman-elect; Captain William Neely Johnson, brother of the Governor-elect; District Attorney H. H. Byrne, General Joseph Lane, and Major P. B. Reading left for the East on various steamers. The newspapers reported the recent death in London of Frank Marryat, son of Captain Marryat, the distinguished novelist. Death was caused by the bursting of a blood-vessel. He was a painter and dramatist of note, as well as the author of an interesting work on California, *Mountains and Molehills*. Shakespeare's comedy of *A Winter's Tale* was performed at the Metropolitan, with Miss Goddard as Hermione, J. B. Booth as Leontes, and Mr. William Chapman as Autolycus. Lee & Marshall's National Circus and Hippodrome gave its farewell entertainment.

October 6. Scott's Bar was destroyed by fire; loss, twenty to thirty thousand dollars.

October 7. A warrant was issued yesterday for the arrest of a man charged with biting off the nose of William Tennent as a result of a quarrel respecting property of the Folsom estate.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

CHARLES COULSON RICH, PIONEER BUILDER OF THE WEST. By John Henry Evans, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. xv+400 pp., including index; ills.

The portrayal of the life of Charles Coulson Rich, Mormon pioneer and colonizer, is not only a biography rich in historical facts, but a chronicle of frontier activities strong in human interest.

The career of Rich begins in the year 1831, when he accepted the Mormon religion. Thereafter, the narrative of his life unfolds, in a series of realistic pictures involving the westward migration of the Mormons, the development of Utah, the establishment of a colony in California, and finally the colonization of the Bear Lake valley in Idaho. In each of these enterprises, Rich played a predominant part not only as a military commander and economic leader, but also as a missionary and educator.

The chapters which describe the brief but rapid development of the San Bernardino colony in California are of particular interest. Although the settlement was abandoned in its sixth year, Rich and his followers made great strides toward the establishment of a productive community.

The biography is a chronicle of the life of a family possessing not only the remarkable courage characteristic of pioneer people, but also an unswerving devotion to their religion. Their fortitude and religious zeal are well portrayed in the account of the establishment of the Bear Lake valley colony. When called upon by the Church to penetrate this unsettled area, Rich was in middle age, while he and the members of his family were comfortably settled in Salt Lake. However, he did not hesitate to embark upon this undertaking. The permanent settlements that resulted from this colonization were in a large measure due to his foresight and leadership.

The extensive use of source material makes this work a valuable addition to Western history. Copious quotations from personal documents of participants in the recorded events give this biography both color and interest.

HELEN CORTEZ STAFFORD.

SILVER STAMPEDE, the Career of Death Valley's Hell Camp, Old Panamint. By Neill C. Wilson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. xvi+319 pp., incl. index; ills., end-paper maps.

Mr. Wilson in his anecdotal history of Old Panamint, in the desert mountains overlooking Death Valley, has re-created this long dead mining camp and has peopled it with real characters whose doings and sayings, comings and goings and daily exploits bring laughs that are body-shaking.

Prospectors, miners, hangers-on, even stage robbers, come to life at the author's touch to make this picture of the West at its wildest. The Silver Seventies with their fascinating atmosphere are made to pass before our eyes; Panamint rises again from its scant ruins to tell its tale, to lay bare its sinfulness, its greed and its raucous jollities.

Silver Stampede displays the same appreciation of the humor of the West as did Mr. Wilson's *Treasure Express*. It has a flavor and charm not often found in books dealing with California's exciting past. The story of Clem Ogg, who cut the seat from a man's trousers with his wicked bull whip, all on a bet, would alone make the tale of Old Panamint worth reading. This is but one of Mr. Wilson's high spots. He has packed literally dozens of authentic and mirth-provoking incidents of equal interest into the volume. If you enjoy reading Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, you cannot afford to pass *Silver Stampede* by.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ASBURY, HERBERT

Six sinful sirens. In *Cosmopolitan*, December, 1936 [Josie Mansfield, Adah Isaacs Menken, Lola Montez, Victoria Woodhull, and Tennessee Claflin.]

BEACH, ROY

White quartz and gold. Stories of the Mother Lode and the boom town Shylock, c. 1936. x+239 pp., port. of author.

BEATTY, RICHMOND CROOM

Bayard Taylor, laureate of the gilded age. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. xviii+380 pp., incl. index and bibliography; ills.

BIRNEY, HOFFMAN

Grim journey. The story of the adventures of an emigrating company known as the Donner Party, which in the year 1846, crossed the plains from Independence, Missouri, to California . . . The narrative from the life of a survivor, Mr. Eddy . . . New York: Milton Balch & Co., 1934. ix+275 pp.

CHAMISSO, ADELBERT VON

A sojourn at San Francisco Bay 1816, by Adelbert von Chamisso, scientist of the Russian exploring ship *Rurick*, illustrated by a series of drawings first published in 1822 by the *Rurick's* artist, Louis Choris. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1936. Large 4°. v+16 pp., colored ills. Printed by the Grabhorn Press.

COLBURN, FRONA EUNICE WAIT

In old vintage days. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1937. ix+178 pp. Decorations by Dorothy Payne. [Fiction with historical background of the nineties.]

DELANO, ALONZO

Across the plains and among the diggings. A reprint of the original edition with reproductions of numerous photographs taken by Louis Palenske and foreword and epilogue by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936. xviii+192 pp., ills. Small 4°.

DUNNE, PETER M.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767. In *Mid-America*, January, 1937. Chicago: Loyola University.

FAVOUR, ALPHEUS H.

Old Bill Williams, mountain man. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 229 pp., incl. index and bibliog.; ills.

[FIELD, CHARLES K.]

The story of Cheerio. By himself. Garden City, New York, c. 1936. xv+382 pp.

GAY, THERESSA

Life and letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, wife of Rev. Jason Lee of the Oregon Mission. Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1936. 224 pp.

GLASSCOCK, C. B.

Lucky Baldwin, the story of an unconventional success. New York: A. L. Burt Company, c. 1935. 308 pp., ills.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

HIGGINS, HAL

83 years equipping California farms. In *Pacific Rural Press*, Vol. CXXXIII, No. 8, February, 1937.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER and HULBERT, DOROTHY PRINTUP [eds.]

Marcus Whitman, Crusader, Part one, 1802-1839. Denver: The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and The Denver Public Library, 1936. 341 pp. [Vol. VI of *The Crusaders*. The Charles B. Voorhis series of *Overland to the Pacific*.]

MACKAY, DOUGLAS

The Honourable Company. A history of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936. xi+396 pp.

NELSON, WESLEY R.

The Boulder Canyon project. In The Smithsonian Institution *Annual Report* for the year ending June 30, 1935, pp. 429-52, ill.

TABER, LOUISE E.

California Gold Rush days: stories from the radio series broadcast by Louise E. Taber. San Francisco: Louise E. Taber, c. 1936. [Sketches of early San Francisco, Vol. I, No. 3.]

WAGNER, HENRY R. [trans. and ed.]

Journal of Tomás de Suría of his voyage with Malaspina to the Northwest Coast of America in 1791. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936. Reprinted from *The Pacific Historical Review*, September, 1936, pp. 235-77, 8 plates.

[trans. and ed.]

Letters of Captain Don Pedro Fages & the Reverend President Fr. Junípero Serra at San Diego, California, in October, 1772. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, December 23, 1936. 9 pp.+2 leaves of facsimile.

New Mexico Spanish Press. In *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January, 1937, pp. 1-40.

WATSON, DOUGLAS S.

An hour's walk through Yerba Buena. San Francisco: Lawton R. Kennedy, 1937. 16 pp., illustrated map.

CALIFORNIA HIGHWAYS AND PUBLIC WORKS

February, 1937, contains: "Construction History of San Francisco Bay Bridge," by Charles E. Andrew.

CALIFORNIA MAGAZINE OF PACIFIC BUSINESS

November, 1936, contains: "Bridge Builder [Charles H. Purcell]," by Samuel G. Blythe; "Green Gold and Tear Gas [the Salinas lettuce strike]"; "Water for the year 2000 [San Dimas Experimental Forest]," by Stuart O. Blythe; "Color from California [flower seeds]," by Frank J. Taylor; "Beginnings of Transcontinental Flying."

GRIZZLY BEAR

February, 1937, contains: "Nancy Kelsey—'The First Pioneer Woman to Cross Plains,'" by Minnie Beatrice Heath; "The Colorful Landseekers of California," by Milton I. Schwartz.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY

June, 1936, contains: "The Butterfield Stage Route from Los Angeles to Porterville," by H. A. Spindt; "The Butterfield Stage Station at 'Laguna Grande,'" by Janet Williams Gould; "Forster versus Pico, a California *Cause Celebre* (Concluded)," by Terry E. Stephenson. September-December, 1936, contains: "The First Census of the Los Angeles District," by J. Gregg Layne; "Padron de la Ciudad de Los Angeles y su Jurisdicción" (facsimile reproduction).

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

December, 1936, contains: "The Coming of the White Women," Part III, by T. C. Elliott; "New Portrait of Dr. McLoughlin," by T. C. Elliott; "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin," by Jane Lewis Chapin.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY

January, 1937, contains: "Some Russian Books on Alaskan History," by C. L. Andrews; "Results of the Historical Records Survey in Washington."

SAN FRANCISCO BAR

[Official publication of the Bar Association of San Francisco] Vol. I, No. 1, February, 1937, contains: "Early California Law Books (1847-1850)," by Alfred C. Skaife.

STANDARD OIL BULLETIN

December, 1936, contains: "The Story of New Almaden Quicksilver."

TIME

March 1, 1937, p. 15, under heading "National Affairs," contains a short biography of Sarah Althea Terry, with a portrait of Justice Stephen Johnson Field.

WESTWAYS

December, 1936, contains: "No Tickee: No Washee!" by Idwal Jones; "The Desert Eden That Vanished [Los Angeles]," by Major Horace Bell; "Mojave's Petrified Forest," by Chester Stock. February, 1937, contains: "Footnotes on Norton I," by Idwal Jones; "California Buffalo of Long Ago," by Chester Stock.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the Society's luncheon meeting on Tuesday, December 29, 1936, Mr. Grant H. Smith spoke on "John W. Mackay, Comstock Miner." Thirty members and guests were present. Mr. Smith, who was himself "an old time Comstocker," outlined the career of "The Dick Whittington of the West," from the time he first came to California in 1851 and found work as a miner-laborer to the years when, as one of the owners of the Consolidated Virginia Bonanza, he was known as the richest miner in the world. The speaker told of Mackay's associations with Fair, Flood, O'Brien, and other famous men on the Comstock, and also of his tremendous enterprises in laying an all-American cable across the Atlantic and establishing the Postal Telegraph. Mackay was, according to Mr. Smith, a dignified, lonely man, kindly to others, a secret philanthropist, natural and unaffected in manner, but beyond a point absolutely inscrutable.

The Annual Meeting of the Society took place on Friday, January 22, 1937, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, with an attendance of fifty-five members and guests. A talk on "Working for Wells Fargo in 1863 and 1864" was given by Mr. Anson S. Blake, who read from letters written by his father, Charles T. Blake, a '49er, who was employed by Wells Fargo.

The correspondence gave graphic descriptions of mining towns in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho Territory, the writer often drawing comparisons between towns in his native New England and the uproarious young frontier communities where he worked as a Wells Fargo agent. In this issue of the *Quarterly* the letters are reproduced.

LAURA R. WHITE.

At the luncheon meeting held at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, February 16, 1937, Dr. Milton H. Shutes gave a remarkably clear and interesting summary of the life of Lincoln's Chief-of-Staff, Henry Wager Halleck, who was born and reared in the Mohawk Valley, New York, and who received his professional education at West Point. During the Mexican War Halleck was sent to California, where he acted as secretary to the Military Governor at Monterey. In this capacity he became an authority on land laws and tenure, and in 1849 he was a prominent figure in the convention which framed the first Constitution for California.

When California's state government was organized he moved to San Francisco, where he established the outstanding law firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings, which three years later built the Montgomery Block. Shortly before the Civil War this firm dissolved. All during the years Halleck spent in California he was regarded as one of its most brilliant, scholarly and versatile men. Soon after Fort Sumter was fired upon, he became a Major General in the regular Army, and after he served in Missouri for a time, Lincoln ordered him to Washington, where he acted as the President's military adviser. One writer describes Halleck as "the most hated and most ineffectual man in the U. S. Army." His character seemed to have undergone a change with his removal from California. Stanton called him a "good-for-nothing" and it was the general opinion that Halleck was the chief cause of the incompetence of the Union armies; yet Lincoln clung to him, remarking that "he was Halleck's friend because no one else was."

Halleck's life was an amazing enigma. His California personality and that he displayed in Washington seemed to belong to two different people.

LOIS H. McVEIGH.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING of the Society was held during the luncheon of Friday, January 22, 1937. Upon motion, the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with. The following Directors were elected for the year 1937: Albert M. Bender, Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Robert E. Cowan, Templeton Crocker, George Ezra Dane, Aubrey Drury, Sidney M. Ehrman, Alfred I. Esberg, Mrs. John O. Gantner, A. T. Leonard,

Jr., Stuart L. Rawlings, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Douglas S. Watson, and Ernest A. Wiltsee.

The Secretary and Treasurer read his report for the year 1936, as follows:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER

For the Year Ending December 31, 1936

MEMBERSHIP

The year has resulted in a net gain of 9 members. We had 500 members at the beginning of the year 1936. We elected to membership during the year 42, and reinstated 2 former members. There resigned during the year 12; died during the year, 16, and dropped for non-payment of dues, 7; leaving 509 members as of December 31, 1936. One patron member transferred to active membership during the year.

MEETINGS

Six Directors' meetings were held during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

Jan. 24—"California History from Adobe Bricks." Prof. George W. Hendry.

Feb. 18—"San Francisco's Old Spanish Cannon." Mr. Douglas S. Watson.

Mar. 24—"Treasure Expresses of the Old West." Mr. Neill C. Wilson.

Apr. 28—"Early California Lithographs." Mr. John Howell.

May 19—"True Tales of Early California Days." Mr. Noel H. Jacks.

June 16—"Personal Experiences and Incidents of the Modoc War." Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald.

Aug. 18—"The Hartnell School at Alisal, 1836." Mr. Henry R. Wagner.

Sept. 29—"East Looks West." Mr. Lauro A. de Rojas.

Oct. 20—"The Broderick-Terry Duel." Hon. Charles R. Boden.

Nov. 17—"Some Pioneer Artists of California." Prof. Eugen Neuhaus.

Dec. 29—"John W. Mackay, Comstock Miner." Mr. Grant H. Smith.

GIFTS AND LOANS

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, other historical items, and cash, during the year 1935, we are indebted to the following:

Mr. Albert M. Bender, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mr. F. J. Bowlen, Mr. P. R. Bradley, Miss Julia Brenner, Mr. Thomas P. Brown, Mr. E. F. Bunch, Mr. E. A. Burbank, Mr. P. H. Callahan, Mrs. Rebecca Chambers, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mrs. E. D. Coblentz, Mr. William R. Coe, Mr. Howard A. Cookson, Mr. Templeton Crocker, Mr. Thomas A. Davies, Mrs. J. H. Deering, Mr. Dudley Dexter, Mr. Charles Caldwell Dobie, Mrs. Florence G. Donnelly, Mr. Albert Dressler, Mr. Aubrey Drury, Mrs. Wells Drury, Mr. Robert H. Edgerton, Editors of *Grass Valley Morning Union*, Miss Elizabeth Fuselman, Mr. L. E. Greene, Historical Society of Southern California, Mrs. L. B. Hogue, Mr. John Howell, Miss Dorothy Huggins, Miss Stella Huntington, Miss Marian M. Jones, Miss Florence R. Keene, Mr. W. F. Kilcline, Miss Enid M. King, Mr. Ernest A. Kubler, Mrs. S. A. Legg, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D., Mrs. Grace Lightner, Mr. M. Hall McAllister, Mr. A. S. Macdonald, Mr. Frank McCaffrey, The Macmillan Company, Mr. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., Miss Sallie Maynard, Mr. Ernest C. Mensch, Miss Juanita Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Silas H. Palmer, Miss Pearl Adair Pearson, Primavera Press, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ezra C. Rich, M. D., Mrs. Edward Rainey, Mrs. Daniel A. Ryan, Mrs. Walter M. Simison, Stanford University Press, Mr. James D. Stewart, Miss Louise E. Taber, Mrs. H. J. Taylor, Mrs. T. F. Trumbull, Miss Alice Van Pelt, Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mr. Robert Walsh, Mr. Rolla B. Watt, Mrs. A. B. Weidenthal, Mr. Carl I. Wheat, Mrs. Charles

Stetson Wheeler, Mr. C. E. Whiteside, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Mr. W. C. Yount, Mrs. Frederick W. Zeile

FINANCIAL

Following the custom inaugurated two years ago, the books of the Society have been audited by Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, whose complete report is on file covering the year. Copied here is a summary of receipts and disbursements of the general fund and publication fund for the year:

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1936

RECEIPTS

Dues:

Active Members	\$4,705.00	
Patron Members	1,400.00	\$6,105.00

Contributions:

General Purposes	\$ 425.00	
Rental of Room	900.00	1,325.00

Sales of Quarterlies		332.00
Sundry		1.93

Total Receipts		\$7,763.93
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EXPENDITURES

Operating Expenses:

Salaries	\$2,605.00	
Rent	1,800.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	63.84	
Postage and Express	82.02	
Office Supplies and Expenses	92.31	
Printing and Multigraphing	45.06	
Insurance	160.00	
Auditing	40.00	
Sundry	40.44	\$4,928.67

Exhibitions and Luncheons:

Exhibitions—Sub-Committee Expense	\$ 23.49	
Luncheons	214.00	237.49

Publication Costs:

Quarterly		2,425.78
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Sundry:

Equipment, Furniture and books		120.44
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Total Expenditures		\$7,712.38
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EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER EXPENDITURES		51.55
BALANCE—DECEMBER 31, 1935		345.32

BALANCE—DECEMBER 31, 1936		\$ 396.87
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Respectfully submitted,

Secretary and Treasurer.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY
PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1936

RECEIPTS

Sales of Special Publications:

The Journal of Lieut. J. M. Hollingsworth	\$ 5.90
A Frenchman in the Gold Rush—E. de Massey	21.74
Topographical Reports of Lieut. G. H. Derby	4.80
The Russians in California	37.43
The Inside Story of the Gold Rush—J. A. Moerenhout	55.30
Annals of Los Angeles—J. G. Layne	34.50
Index to the Annals of San Francisco—F. Soulé	26.25
The Story of San José—O. O. Winther	9.00
The Beginnings of Marysville—E. Ramey	348.13

Total	\$ 543.05
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Sales of Pamphlets:

Adventures on the Plains—C. Cardinell	\$ 1.40
Camels in Western America—A. A. Gray	6.40
George Davidson, Geographer—H. R. Wagner	3.25
A Trip to the Mining Regions—E. Vischer	6.10
A Census of California Spanish Imprints—G. L. Harding	1.00
The Memoirs of Theodor Cordua	4.40
Bill of Rights to California Constitution	1.50
The California Star	1.05
Portsmouth Square—H. T. Purdy	2.25
Mission Picture	.25
Memoirs of Lemuel Clark McKeeby	.75

Total	\$ 28.35
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Increase in Inventory of Publications	38.10
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Interest on Bank Balance	17.11
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Total Receipts	\$ 626.61
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EXPENDITURES

Publication Costs:

Beginnings of Marysville	\$ 427.39
Wrapping, Postage, and Express	45.86
Decrease in Accounts Receivable	18.37

Total Expenditures	491.62
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EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER EXPENDITURES	\$ 134.99
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BALANCE—DECEMBER 31, 1935	1,500.60
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BALANCE—DECEMBER 31, 1936	\$1,635.59
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Respectfully submitted,

ANSON S. BLAKE,

Secretary and Treasurer.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

December 1, 1936, to February 28, 1937

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Dana, Richard Henry, Jr., *Two years before the mast*, N. Y.: Random House, 1936; [Field, Charles K.], *The story of Cheerio*, Garden City, N. Y., c. 1936; Saroyan, William, *Three times three*, Los Angeles, 1936; Taylor, Mrs. H. J., *Yosemite Indians*, S. F.: Jonck & Seeger, 1936; Thomas, Lowell, *The life story of Tex O'Reilly*, N. Y., 1936; a set of six California Literary Pamphlets, published by the Book Club of California, 1936; and others.

From MRS. REBECCA CHAMBERS—*Scenes of the San Francisco fire and earthquake*, S. F., Phoenix Photo Co., c. 1906; *In memoriam, Lafayette Maynard, died December 29, 1876*, [S. F., 1877]; Poe, A. E., *Poetical works*, N. Y., 1864 (autographed by Ogden Hoffman).

From MR. THOMAS A. DAVIES—Whited, Jesse M. [comp.], *History of the Thirty-ninth Triennial Conclave, Grand Encampment of Knights Templar . . . at San Francisco, July 7th to 13th, 1934*, S. F., 1936.

From MR. CHARLES CALDWELL DOBIE—Dobie, Charles C., *San Francisco's Chinatown*, N. Y., 1936; Idem, *San Francisco, a pageant*, S. F., 1934.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.—D'Estournelles de Constant, Baron, *Woman in the United States*, S. F., 1912.

From EZRA C. RICH, M. D.—Evans, John Henry, *Charles Coulson Rich, pioneer builder of the West*, N. Y., 1936.

From MISS LOUISE E. TABER—Taber, Louise E., *California Gold Rush Days*, Vol. I, No. 3.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—[Burlend, Rebecca], *A true picture of emigration*, Chicago, 1936; Davidson, George, *The Alaska boundary*, S. F., 1903; Idem, *Coast pilot of Alaska*, Wash., 1869; Idem, *Coast pilot of California, Oregon and Washington Territory*, Washington, 1869; Idem, *Discovery of Humboldt Bay*, S. F.: Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1891; Idem, *Discovery of San Francisco Bay*, S. F.: Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1907; Idem, *Name of Mt. Rainier* (reprint from *Sierra Club Bulletin*) S. F., 1907; Idem, *Origin and meaning of the name California* [S. F.]: Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1910; Idem, *Reports of the Supt. of Coast Survey, 1855, 1858, and 1862*; Kelly, Charles, *Old Greenwood*, Salt Lake City, 1936; Wagner, H. R. (ed. and trans.), *Letters of Captain Don Pedro Fages & the Reverend President Fr. Junipero Serra at San Diego, California, in October 1772*, S. F.: Grabhorn Press, 1936.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

From MRS. REBECCA CHAMBERS—S. F. *Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 9, 1877; S. F. *Examiner*, Nov. 23 and 24, 1895; Mountain View, *Signs of the Times*, May 2, 1906; *Collier's*, May 19, 1906; *Harper's Weekly*, May 12 and May 19, 1906; *Leslie's Weekly*, May 24, 1906.

From MISS SADIE EVERETT—Portion of a Sacramento newspaper of 1866, containing a chronological record of events of 1865.

From MR. EDMUND G. KINYON—Various numbers of the Grass Valley *Morning Union* containing articles on Mark Twain.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Portions of 10 issues of S. F. *Chronicle*, 1888, 1897, 1901, 1907, and 1934, containing articles of historical interest.

MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

From MRS. REBECCA CHAMBERS—21 letters from John G. Shirts to Lafayette Maynard, December 12, 1863, to March 19, 1869; letters from William A. Cornwall, Delos Lake, and John G. Shirts, 1864; receipt from Hall McAllister, 1863; expense account for taking Gould to Almaden, 1863; various legal documents relating to John G. Shirts.

From MR. ALBERT DRESSLER—About 185 items concerning Captain Thomas P. H. Whitelaw, of San Francisco.

PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Sonora, Tuolumne County, 1856-58 (reproduction); San Francisco, 1876, from Telegraph Hill looking south, from a painting by Ferdinand Richardt (photographic copy, framed); photographs of details of murals by Leo Katz, José Clemente Orozco, and of studies by Diego Rivera, etc.

From MRS. REBECCA CHAMBERS—Photographs of Lafayette Maynard and members of his family, Edwin Booth, Jennie Lee, and Lillian Russell.

From WELLS FARGO BANK & UNION TRUST CO—"The Hangtown Express" (colored print of a Wells Fargo stagecoach, framed.)

From MR. ERNEST A. WILTSEE—Photograph of Lola Montez and Patrick Hull at Grass Valley, 1854 (copy).

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—9 stereoscopic views (on glass), mostly of Yosemite; 15 stereoscopic views of Woodward's Gardens.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. AND MRS. SILAS H. PALMER—Handsome gold watch presented to Luis Antonio Arguello (son of the first Governor of California under Mexican rule) by his brother, José Ramon Arguello, and containing photographs of José Ramon and Maria Soledad Arguello, his wife.

From MISS LOUISE SIEBE—G. A. R. Badge, reception of General Grant, 1879.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—2 badges: Rebuilding of San Francisco, New Year's Eve, 1909; League of Nations, February, 1919.

LOANS

From MRS. LUKE FAY—San Francisco Directories for 1856, 1864-65, 1866, 1868, 1878-79, 1880-81, 1883-84, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892; Pacific Coast Directories for 1884, 1888-89; Oakland and Alameda Directory, 1876-77; Business and Mining Directory of Storey, Lyon, Ormsby, and Washoe Counties, Nevada, 1875; 158 scrap-books on the subject of Crime and Criminals in California, compiled by Edward Byram; Map of California, J. H. Colton & Co., 1858; 8 large photographs of California scenes, by Taber; view of Carmel Mission (framed); 169 stereoscopic views; many other photographs; notebooks compiled by Luke Fay containing lists of the members of Stevenson's Regiment, and of land titles and lots in San Francisco, etc.; various programs, documents, newspaper clippings, and other items, from the collection of the late Luke Fay.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—U. S. Army Springfield musket made in 1809 (used at Santa Clara Mission); Invitation to the execution of George A. Wheeler, San Francisco, January 23, 1884.

In Memoriam*

A. B. C. DOHRMANN

1868-1936

The Society lost a valued member and the State and City a faithful citizen and devoted servant in the death, December 28 last, of Andrew Bernhard Charles Dohrmann. His death came as a shock to his legion of friends, as he had been confined to his bed but a few days with a cold when a sudden heart attack was fatal. He had been a member of the Society since 1923.

Mr. Dohrmann was born December 5, 1868, at Oakland and was educated in the public schools of Alameda County and San Francisco. His great commercial career began in 1884 with B. Nathan and Company, from which came the present day firm of Nathan Dohrmann and Company. At his death, he was chairman of the board of the Emporium, the Dohrmann Commercial Company, and the Yosemite Park and Curry Company.

His multifarious business interests were not allowed to interfere with an active civic and philanthropic life. In the 1906 disaster he organized food stations, and was a member of the committee of fifty which directed relief work. During the World War he was acting manager of the Pacific Coast division of the American Red Cross.

He was the acknowledged founder of the San Francisco Community Chest. For more than eighteen years he served as a member of the Industrial Welfare Commission of the State of California.

He was a director and member of the finance committee of the Golden Gate International Exposition, to be held in San Francisco in 1939.

Surviving are his widow, Edith; five sons, Bruce, William, Robert, Gerald and Alan; and two daughters, Mrs. Henry L. Garland and Barbara Dohrmann.

CHARLES R. BODEN.

PRENTIS COBB HALE

1858-1936

Far from the city and friends he loved so well, Prentis Cobb Hale, a member of the Society, died suddenly November 21, 1936, in the Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital, in New York City.

He had entered the hospital two weeks before for an abdominal operation,

*Since the December *Quarterly* went to press, the Publication Committee has received notice of the deaths of Mrs. Alexander Garceau, Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, Mrs. N. Lawrence Nelson, and Mr. Robert H. Swayne, in 1936, and Mr. Gustav Knecht on February 1, 1937. It was hoped to have included in this issue brief biographical notes respecting the people mentioned, who were all members of the Society, but up to the time of going to press these had not been received.

which he weathered so successfully that his family and friends believed him well on the road to recovery. His widow, Mrs. Linda Bryan Hale, was at his bedside when death struck.

Born in Michigan, seventy-eight years ago, Mr. Hale came to California when a young man and embarked on a commercial career that was to make him one of the outstanding merchants and bankers in the nation. With his brothers, Reuben B. Hale and Marshal Hale, he devoted his efforts to the upbuilding of the Hale Bros. Stores Inc., operating department stores in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose and Sacramento, and served as president up to his death.

For many years he filled various executive offices of the Bank of America, rising to director and member of the executive and finance committees of that institution.

In civic and philanthropic work he was ever outstanding. During the 1906 disaster both Mr. and Mrs. Hale took leading parts in relief work, and especially in assisting the families of the firemen engaged in battling the great conflagration. For this, Mrs. Hale was presented with a silver bowl, suitably inscribed, by officers and members of the San Francisco Fire Department.

In addition to his widow, son, Prentis Cobb Hale Jr., and brothers, Mr. Hale is survived by two stepsons, a stepdaughter and a sister.

CHARLES R. BODEN.